



Daily Report

East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Yugoslavia

Federal—Belgrade radio carried a speech by Prime Minister Milan Panic to a joint session of both chambers of the FRY Assembly in Belgrade on 21 August. During his speech, Panic said, "I can tell you that the past month has been spent in such devoted activities as strengthening peace and the international position of our country."

The Federal Assembly "adopted conclusions in connection with the London Conference on Yugoslavia," TANJUG reports. The text of the conclusions notes: "A single delegation of the FRY" will attend the conference. The delegation will include: President Dobrica Cosic as head of the delegation and delegation members FRY Prime Minister Milan Panic; Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic; and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

At a news conference in Belgrade prior to his departure for London, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, stated that "representatives of the Serb Republic will advocate a confederal Bosnia-Herzegovina because this system would eliminate domination of one nation over others," TANJUG reports.

Sarajevo radio reports that a joint session of the Bosnian Presidency and Government "adopted" a platform for the Bosnian delegation at the 26 August London Conference on Yugoslavia. President Alija Izetbegovic announced: "The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency has decided that I should head the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation at this conference and that the delegation members should be: Mile Akmadzic, general secretary Presidency; Haris Silajdzic, minister of foreign affairs; and Nikola Kovac, minister of education."

Bulgaria

BTA reports that Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Veneta Momcheva, referring to the Conference on Yugoslavia in London, said: "Bulgaria will not contribute any military personnel or equipment to a possible peacekeeping operation in the former Yugoslavia;" however, "she stressed Bulgaria's firm resolve to support the resolutions of the UN Security Council and CSCE." She also emphasized that "stability of the Bulgarian borders, peace and security in the Balkans will be Bulgaria's aims." In conclusion, Momcheva stated: "Borders, the new realities, and sovereignty should be respected, all Yugoslav Republics which declared independence in a constitutional manner should be granted recognition."

Czechoslovakia

Vaclav Klaus, Civic Democratic Party, ODS, chairman, announced that Vladimir Meciar, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, chairman, "refused to participate in the ODS-HZDS talks on the future of Czechoslovakia scheduled for August 27." In a letter to Klaus, Meciar stated that "he considers the meeting inappropriate, given that the Czech side is questioning or rather not fulfilling" the July 23 political agreement.

Major, Hurd Cited on London Conference

*LD2208203492 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 1525 GMT 22 Aug 92*

[By James Hardy, PRESS ASSOCIATION Lobby Correspondent]

[Text] John Major returns to London tomorrow for a crucial international peace conference on war-ravaged Bosnia, determined to spell out the intensity of anger at Serbian action in the area. Pressure on the Prime Minister to achieve a conference breakthrough mounted today with the news that two British soldiers were wounded by shrapnel in the besieged Bosnian capital Sarajevo. Earlier today, as the Prime Minister was preparing to fly home from his Spanish holiday resort, another 30 people died in indiscriminate shelling of Sarajevo.

World opinion lays the blame for the bloody civil war firmly at the door of Serbia and there is widespread outrage at both the indiscriminate killing and the "ethnic cleansing" which has seen thousands of people driven from their homes. But diplomatic sources in London insist that while few punches will be pulled with Serbia's leaders, the emphasis of the peace conference will be on establishing a constructive and continuing round of talks. All the major players will be involved in the three-day meeting starting on Wednesday [26 August], including high-level delegations from all six former Yugoslav republics, the United Nations, the EC, Islamic states, relief agencies and defensive alliances. Participants will be seated behind plaques bearing their names only in an effort to keep to a minimum recurring recriminations.

Mr. Major, who is to co-chair the conference with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, called the conference as part of Britain's contribution to the EC presidency. He has no great hopes of a breakthrough and will be happy just to persuade the participants to agree to further meetings.

A well-placed source said: "You either aim low and are pleasantly surprised or aim high and be prepared to be disappointed. All the pieces are there but you certainly will not achieve anything if people start to be bloody-minded and stubborn."

Given the deep-seated hatreds involved in the bitter conflict, and EC envoy Lord Carrington's fruitless attempts to broker a deal, few diplomats expect real progress. The agenda for the conference is wide-ranging, covering everything from security and the UN's future role in the region to minority rights and humanitarian aid.

The Government has already pledged up to 1,800 British troops to help desperately needed food convoys to the besieged citizens of towns and cities across the beleaguered country.

Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said the Government's approach to the Yugoslav crisis must be twin-tracked—providing humanitarian aid for the needy while searching for a negotiated solution. He said in an article for tomorrow's SUNDAY EXPRESS: "We cannot expect to solve problems in two days, but the conference will be the start of a continuing programme of work, combining pressure with talk. The conference will outline the principles which have to underlie the solution. It must increase pressure on parties standing in the way of peace. That applies particularly to the Serbs—they must stop human rights abuses, the ethnic cleansing, they must close the camps. We shall have to make more effective the existing sanctions and consider how they might be strengthened."

Serbian President To Attend London Talks

*LD2108133792 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 1315 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[By Stephen Alderman, PRESS ASSOCIATION Political Staff]

[Text] Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is to attend next week's crucial London conference aimed at finding a diplomatic solution to the Yugoslavian crisis, the Foreign Office disclosed today. Earlier this week, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd warned that Serbia would condemn itself to remaining an international outcast if Mr Milosevic refused to attend the conference, which opens on Wednesday [26 August]. But the name of the Serbian president was included in a Foreign Office list of delegates from the Serbian capital Belgrade and Montenegro's principal city Podgorica.

The Foreign Office also announced that Sir John Thomson, a former UK representative at the UN, will lead a mission next week to the former Yugoslavia to inspect camps and places of detention. The mission will be organised under the auspices of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Britain has invited the six republics and federal Yugoslav leaders to attend, along with international organisations and the world's main powers, REUTERS reported. The main Yugoslav spokesman will be Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic. He said today: "We expect the conference in London to be a real turning point in the settlement of the problems which have brought about war in Bosnia."

Serbian warlords including Radovan Karadzic from Bosnia and Goran Hadzic from Croatia will be allowed to attend as observers but not to participate. Bosnia's Muslim President Alija Izetbegovic will try to propel his country's plight to the forefront of the three-day preliminary meeting because of the war still raging inside his frontiers. The immediate aim of Bosnia-Herzegovina's government will be to halt fighting that is threatening the five-month-old state with partition between Serbs and Croats at the expense of Muslims who make up 44 percent of the population.

Croatia wants urgent help to deal with its burden of almost 650,000 refugees, more than half of them victims of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia. The rump Yugoslav federation comprising Serbia and Montenegro has an agenda which includes securing international recognition and progress towards lifting UN sanctions. Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia have all left former Yugoslavia since June 1991.

Hungarians To Seek Autonomous Region at Conference

LD2408100292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 0500 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Report by Arpad Madarasz from Novi Sad]

[Excerpt] The delegation of the Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vajdasag [Vojvodina], which has been invited to London, is going to the conference [on Yugoslavia] with a proposal that a Hungarian autonomous region be created in northern Bacska [Backa], that every Hungarian in Serbia be given personal autonomy, and that the settlements with a Hungarian majority in the territory of other Vajdasag [Vojvodina] villages be allowed to govern themselves.

Yugoslav UN Delegation Rejects Genocide Trial

LD2208010292 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0002 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Text] Geneva, Aug 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's permanent mission at the United Nations in Geneva on Friday [21 August] emphatically condemned threats from Bonn that Germany would raise the question of putting the Serbs on trial for alleged "crimes against humanity" in the Bosnia-Herzegovina civil war.

Yugoslavia's mission said Germany should "first clean out its own back yard" of Nazi remnants.

The mission said the most important thing was for the full truth to be established about the war in the former Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the facts about crimes of genocide, regardless of who committed them.

"This also includes establishing the truth about all those who are responsible for fomenting the brutal dismembering of Yugoslavia, for acts violating international law and the charter of the United Nations," the mission said in a press statement.

In a reaction to the statement by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel that his government would "charge Serbia" with genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the forthcoming London Conference on Yugoslavia and at the September session of the U.N. General Assembly, the Yugoslav mission said Kinkel should first "bring to trial all Nazi war criminals who enjoy the hospitality and protection of the German Government."

Only after this would Germany as a state or any German individual have a moral right to raise the question of other war criminals, the mission said.

"It is no secret that during the Second World War Germany's fascist hordes, aided by its satellites, in particular the Croatian fascists, committed on Yugoslav territory horrendous crimes of genocide against the Serbs, Jews and Gypsies," the mission said.

About a million people perished at the time in extermination camps on Croatian soil.

Germany is the frontrunner in launching accusations against Serbia, the latest being the construction about camps for non-Serbs that have allegedly been set up in Serbia. Serbia's and Yugoslavia's authorities have extended invitations to international missions to visit Serbia and verify the real situation for themselves.

Kuwaiti Amir Receives President Berisha

AU2308203092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1730 GMT 23 Aug 92

[Text] Mr. Berisha, president of the Albanian Republic, left this morning for Kuwait, where he will stay for three days at the invitation of the Amir of Kuwait. Prime Minister Meksi, parliamentarians, and other personalities saw Berisha off at Rinas airport. The delegation consisted of Mr. Ruli, minister of economy and finance; Mr. Xhaja, minister of energy and mining; Mr. Bucpaj, general director of the Albanian Radio and Television; and other high-ranking officials.

ATA, referring to the Kuwait agency KUNA, reports that Albanian President Sali Berisha and the delegation accompanying him arrived in Kuwait. The Albanian president was received at the international airport by Amir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, Prince and Prime Minister Sheik Sa'ad al-'Abdullah al-Sabah, and other high-ranking state officials. According to the Kuwait agency KUNA, the Amir of Kuwait will give a dinner in honor of the Albanian president. An honor mission headed by [words indistinct] is being formed to accompany the Albanian president. KUNA concludes by saying that this is the first visit by an Albanian president to Kuwait and the Arab countries. During his visit Berisha will hold talks with the Amir and the prince, who is also the prime minister, [word indistinct] with mutual relations.

Our envoy informs us that on his way to Kuwait, Berisha and [words indistinct] stayed for a short time at the airport in Cyprus and was met by President Yeoryios Vasiliou and other high-ranking personalities. President Berisha and President Vasiliou touched upon different aspects of relations between the two countries, and especially the possibilities of developing trade between Albania and Cyprus, seasonally employing Albanians in Cyprus, providing technical help to Albania in various fields of economics, and agreeing to exchange delegations from both countries. Finally, Berisha thanked Cypriot President Yeoryios Vasiliou for his reception, and stated once again the necessity for developments between both countries. In the end, both presidents gave statements for the Cypriot media.

Propaganda by Greek Circles in South Criticized

AU2208143792 Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT
22 Aug 92

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE article: "There Is Not an Inch of Foreign Soil Inside the Albanian Borders"]

[Text] Tirana, August 22 (ATA)—The newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE carries an article in its latest issue under the above title, stressing among other things:

Whenever Albania has been in difficult social-economic positions, there has been intensified the anti-Albanian activity of the so-called Greek chauvinistic circles and their supporters at home. The same tradition is followed

even today by means of the most unscrupulous forms. The Albanian public opinion has already got to know flagrant cases of the adventurous anti-Albanian activity carried out in the southern part of Albania and sometimes even in the capital city. Anyhow, so far they are considered as acts organized by the chauvinistic circles and which are not supported by the Greek Government. The recent event in Athens, where during the ceremony held for the Olympic Games winners, amongst whom was also the Albanian Piro Dhima, the minister of presidency in his address on behalf of the Greek premier describes Himara "unliberated land" and its people North Epirotes, makes up a political and diplomatic scandal.

It throws shadow on the sincerity of the Greek party in its relations with Albania at a time when the Albanian Government is totally implementing a policy of friendship and cooperation both with the Greek Government and the Greek people as well, including here even the Greeks living in the southern part of Albania (the minority). Perhaps does some one think that poverty and needs will make the Albanians forget history and traditions? We are grateful to the Greek people and government for the humanitarian aid they have given and the maintenance of about 200,000 Albanian refugees in Greece and do not want to believe that this aid is made use of for ill willing intentions, as it happened recently.

Another troublesome problem is also the commitment of some people of minority in supporting these chauvinistic acts. The delivery of papers during the election campaign which directly considered the vote for the Human Rights Party (Omonia) vote for the North Epirus, to a certain extent makes responsible even this party, which could avoid this responsibility by reacting in such cases. The appointment of a Greek archbishop in the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church contrary to the rules of this church, cannot be a chance, but another act violating the national interests. The privatization of land made the people of minority owners just as the Albanian peasant, but this should not make them forget that this remains always Albanian soil. One thing should be clear: it is true that we do not intend to impose the policy of any government in the Balkans or elsewhere, but it is the Albanians and no one else who make the law inside the Albanian borders. And inside these borders, not only now, but for hundreds of years there has been no inch of foreign land.

Berisha Meets With Military, Intellectuals

AU2308200192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1330 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Zamira Koleci report]

[Text] In continuing his visits in Diber District, President of the Republic Sali Berisha held a meeting on 21 August at noon with militarymen of the northeastern area in the city of Peshkopi. Speaking to them, he

stressed the Army's most important problem—the application of discipline. Berisha stressed that discipline expresses the level of commitment of all militarymen toward the people. It is precisely for this reason that discipline will be the first criteria in assessing every militaryman. Do not forget that there are Nazi-type camps. We are in a region where women and children are killed. The danger of war exists. That is why the Army should be disciplined.

Speaking extensively on the participation of the Army in the reform processes, Mr. Berisha stressed that the Army is no longer a weapon of dictatorship and a closed institution. The mission of the Army is to preserve freedom, integrity, independence, and victories of democracy. With its platform, dictatorship rusted this institution and it was not the technique that suffered in this direction, but the dignity of the militaryman. The abolition of grades and other forms of the Chinese theory of the so-called Line of Masses dealt heavy blows to discipline in the Army.

President Berisha later stated that even during the transitory period, we have witnessed that Albanian communism, as no other communism in Eastern Europe, was able to come out of the historic scene through destruction. This reached its culmination when weapons were stolen in the officers training school. How can we believe those officers whose weapons are grabbed in broad daylight? Others climb aboard ships, tread on our flag, bully our country's honor and dignity, and go to foreign lands.

Commenting on other shortcomings that were observed in the Army, Mr. Berisha reiterated that the application of Army regulations are another primary duty. He then pointed out that as soon as we overcome the difficulties of reform, we will fight to modernize the Army. The closure of the secondary military school in Skenderbej

indicates that we are heading in this direction because such a school, set up on the basis of an old janizary tradition, does not exist in any other democratic country in the world.

At the end of the meeting, the president attended the promotion ceremony for several militarymen from the northeastern area.

A meeting with intellectuals from Diber was scheduled in the afternoon. The hall of the city cinema was packed. Meanwhile, there were still people outside waiting to enter. That is why the meeting with President Berisha was held outside at the square in front of the House of Culture and was attended by many participants. Berisha pointed out problems with the economic reform, especially the increase of prices and the special care that needs to be shown to the mass of people who require more of the state's support. The leaders of the communes and municipalities should enroll the unprotected families that are mostly affected by the reform through the state and ensure that they are provided with bread, medications, and accommodations. These people will be supported by the market economy, the social economy of the free society.

President Berisha spoke about the Law on Enterprises, support that should be given to agricultural cadres, the value of the district's natural resources, the opportunities of exploiting these resources to the interest of Diber residents, the present situation of the peasant and citizen, and the opportunities that will be created through the application of reform. President Berisha also spoke about the Albanian policy toward European integration through peace, security, and friendship to the defense of national interests.

As a sign of respect, Diber citizens named President Berisha the first honored citizen of Peshkopi. In the evening, President Berisha returned to Tirana.

Foreign Ministry Outlines Position on Yugoslavia*AU2308185692 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT
23 Aug 92*

[Text] Sofia, August 23 (BTA)—“We will reiterate in London that Bulgaria will not contribute any military personnel or equipment to a possible peacekeeping operation in the former Yugoslavia,” Ms. Veneta Momcheva, spokeswoman for the Foreign Ministry, said in an interview on Bulgarian Television this evening in connection with the conference on Yugoslavia starting on Wednesday, August 26. She stressed Bulgaria’s firm resolve to support the resolutions of the UN Security Council and CSCE.

Stability of the Bulgarian borders, peace and security in the Balkans will be Bulgaria’s aims, Ms. Momcheva said, asked about the foreign policy aims this country will seek to achieve at the international conference. “We will work toward solutions which will stop the bloodshed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, end the so-called ethnic purge and the violation of human rights and dignity, and prevent the spread of the conflict into other regions of the former Yugoslavia,” Ms. Momcheva stressed in the interview.

She also said that the Bulgarian representative at the conference will emphasize this country’s view that the conflict is deeply rooted in the grave economic backwardness of the region. He will certainly call for economic assistance from the Western countries. The Foreign Ministry’s spokeswoman said that Bulgaria’s self-confidence at the conference will stem from its ethnic stability and its equally active good relations with its neighbours.

The London conference and the Bulgarian initiative for a Helsinki process in the Balkans are “deeply consistent and logically connected,” Ms. Momcheva said. More than half a year ago, Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev advanced the idea that the new realities in south-eastern Europe should be adjusted to the principles and mechanisms of the Helsinki process. The spokeswoman for the Foreign Ministry said: “Now, on the eve of the London conference, an essential principle underlying our proposal should be given a high priority: Borders, the new realities, and sovereignty should be respected, all Yugoslav Republics which declared independence in a constitutional manner should be granted recognition.”

Danube River Vessel Detained in Vojvodina*AU2108202892 Sofia BTA in English 1822 GMT
21 Aug 92*

[Text] Sofia, August 21 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Vasil Levski river ship was detained at the border port of Bezdan, Mr. Dimitur Stanchev, director of the Bulgarian Ship Navigation Company in Ruse, announced in an interview on the Bulgarian national radio today. “I presume that the reason for detaining the Bulgarian ship was the incident with the Ukrainian vessel travelling upstream the Danube which hit a drifting mine near

Novi Sad. We were informed of this by the Ukrainian navigation company,” Mr. Stanchev said.

In his interview Mr. Stanchev also expressed the presumption that by detaining ships the Serbian side is seeking to exert pressure on the navigation companies to accept the transit taxes on the cargo passing through Serbian section of the Danube which were recently announced in the Serbian press.

The radio also reported of a possible discontinuation of navigation along the Serbian section of the Danube which would contradict the 1948 Belgrade Convention. A radio telephone conversation with the captain of the detained Bulgarian ship, Zdravko Yordanov, confirmed these apprehensions. He said that many other vessels have been detained.

The detention of the six barges will cost the Bulgarian river navigation company 50,000 leva (about 2,130 US dollars) a day.

[Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT on 24 August reports: “The Bulgarian vessel ‘Vasil Levski,’ which was detained on 21 August by Serbian military authorities, has been released. The vessel is now 30 km from Belgrade.”]

Government To Open Communist Party Archives*AU2108155792 Sofia BTA in English 1207 GMT
21 Aug 92*

[Text] Sofia, August 21 (BTA)—In early 1993 the archives of the Bulgarian Communist (now Socialist) Party will be accessible to everybody, says Mr. Veselin Metodiev, head of the Central Archives Administration with the Council of Ministers. The documents will first be available to journalists—as early as at the end of this year—provided they undertake not to make public the information before January 1, 1993. After that date any member of the public will have access to the archives. Mr. Metodiev expects keen interest in the archives.

If parliament votes an amendment to the State Archives Act by the beginning of October and the top leadership of the Socialist Party cooperates in the delivery of the archives, the records will be opened to the public at the end of the year.

The processed materials date from the period between the foundation of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in 1891 and 1975. The most interesting records cover the plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), meetings and conferences of party leaders and heads of state which, along with the documents of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the BCP, will reveal the mechanism of post-1944 government in Bulgaria, Mr. Metodiev explained. The opening of the archives will unravel the mystery surrounding “Decisions B,” the classified decisions which immediately concerned the national interests in finance, foreign

policy and defence. They were kept in the secretarial department of the BCP Central Committee and not in the archives proper.

Report Surveys Banking Scene, Conflicts

AU2208/71792 Sofia BTA in English 1600 GMT
22 Aug 92

[Ani Parmuksuzyan report: "On Banks and the Foreign Exchange Policy of the Bulgarian National Bank"]

[Text] Sofia, August 22 (BTA)—The Bulgarian National Bank (BNB) is one of the most independent European banks, BNB Governor Todor Vulchev says in today's KONTINENT. Its entire foreign exchange policy is oriented towards the stabilization of the lev and the Governing Board decided to adhere to it. The external stability of the lev is very good, Prof. Vulchev believes. The newspapers report this statement in connection with the conflict between Prof. Vulchev and Finance Minister Ivan Kostov. Two days ago Ivan Kostov insisted that the central bank withdraw from the market so that the dollar rate could be reduced. Prof. Vulchev yesterday proposed that Bulgaria's foreign exchange policy be discussed in parliament, which will resume its sittings in early September. Not long ago Kostov planned for a rate of 30 to 32 leva to the dollar in his directives on the national budget, now he is speaking about 20 leva to the dollar, Prof. Vulchev said. According to experts, both sides are right, KONTINENT writes and publishes several views today. The finance minister's attack is targeted on the National Bank's leadership. He has two aims: To secure his rear before the forthcoming talks on Bulgaria's foreign debt with its creditor banks, and to secure his operations with the foreign exchange reserve, according to sources of the office of Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, leader of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation. Kostov wants to reduce the dollar rate, according to an expert of an influential commercial bank. He doubts that it is possible to tell now what will cause greater losses: A stable dollar rate maintained by the central bank, which will help Bulgarian exports and, consequently, production, or a drop in the dollar rate, which will allow this country to import raw materials at lower prices but will reduce its exports. Foreign exchange experts of First Private Bank declined to comment on the conflict between Prof. Vulchev and Finance Minister Kostov but were categorical that they are on the side of the central

bank. They described Kostov's demands as inappropriate in the current economic situation. Boris Nachev, an expert on trade with the United States at the Ministry of Trade, supports in principle a liberal foreign exchange policy but asks whether this is the right time to introduce it. The cabinet has not issued an official statement so far to distance itself from the finance minister's views, KONTINENT writes. Commenting on the conflict, it says that at the end of July parliament debated and approved the National Bank's annual report. It listed the positive results of the stabilization-oriented foreign exchange policy since the beginning of 1992. The report was approved by a vote of 190 to 1. The finance minister did not vote against. "Why did not he argue for a 'new foreign exchange policy' at that time?," the daily writes. Finance minister Ivan Kostov was angry with the National Bank's dealers who were buying an excessive amount of dollars, says 24 CHASA, commenting on the conflict. According to Mr. Kostov, this pushes up inflation and reduces budget revenues. The central bank has bought 173 million U.S. dollars since the beginning of June, which is more than half of the 295.9 million dollars bought by all other banks. That is why the National Bank's buying rate of 23.04 to 22.40 leva to the dollar set the market trends, the newspaper writes. A month and a half ago Prof. Vulchev submitted his resignation after personal attacks against him in the press. He said he would resign his post in the autumn because of his advanced age. The National Bank's independence from the government is guaranteed by the BNB Act. During the debates on the second banking act—on Commercial Banks, Prof. Vulchev stressed that there are two major aims: To consolidate banks and privatize them later on. During the first stage of the reform carried out by the Bank Consolidation Company, 63 commercial banks will merge into six groups. The new banks will have a capital of 1,000 million leva and a full license. Following are the names of the new formations: Bulgarian Credit (22 banks merging with Doverie Bank and Construction Bank), Balkanbank (9 banks merging with the bank of the same name), Sofiabank (12 banks merging with the Elektronika Bank), Trakiya (9 banks merging with Biochim Bank), Agrobank (7 banks), and Economic-Mineralbank (a merger of the two financial institutions). The banks in each group have not been identified yet because reshuffles are possible. The six groups were formed on the principle of voluntary grouping. It is expected that Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, Post Bank and Sirbank will remain independent, their activity being of a more specific nature.

Meciar Refuses To Join ODS-HZDS Talks

LD2408130592 Prague CSTK in English
1248 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Text] Prague Aug 24 (CSTK)—ODS [Civic Democratic Party] Chairman Vaclav Klaus announced to CSTK that HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] Chairman Vladimir Meciar today refused to participate in the ODS-HZDS talks on the future of Czechoslovakia scheduled for August 27.

Klaus said that these talks, the sixth to be held since the ODS and the HZDS won the June 5-6 elections in the Czech and Slovak Republics, had been prepared for a long time and that the Slovak side had agreed to the date.

"However, on August 21, HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar wrote me a letter saying that he considers the meeting inappropriate, given that the Czech side is questioning or rather not fulfilling the (July 23 political) agreement", Klaus said.

He pointed out that he called on Meciar today to participate in the meeting "which the public in both parts of the country is undoubtedly impatiently awaiting". However, Meciar rejected this too, said Klaus.

"This attitude is a disappointment for both the ODS and me personally, as it indicates a new phase in the HZDS' attempts to resolve the state setup issues in an unorthodox manner," he added.

Klaus went on to say that after the June elections the Czech side "has agreed with, in fact, the liquidation of the common state (of Czechs and Slovaks) only under the pressure of Slovakia's process of emancipation, but today it is no longer willing to just stand aside and watch the silent transformation of the (existing) federation into a confederation".

At the August 27 talks, Klaus wanted to discuss a draft agreement on joint action by the ODS and the HZDS to prevent the federal parliament from becoming deadlocked.

Also to be discussed was the fulfillment of the July 23 political agreement and clarification of the two sides' positions on the first draft of legislation on the termination of the Czechoslovak Federation.

In a letter to Klaus obtained today by the Slovak news agency TKS, Meciar accused ODS federal deputies of "casting doubt on (the HZDS' approach), labelling it a leftist coup".

"I demand an apology from the ODS", he adds.

Referring to political agreements concluded between his party and Klaus in the previous five rounds of talks, Meciar said the ODS has either not adhered to them at all or only in a very lax fashion.

"Until the ODS persuades us that it is making an effort to honestly fulfill the agreements and to have correct relations (with the HZDS), we consider further talks inappropriate", the letter states.

Minister Discusses Debt With Russian Official

LD2308141392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko
Radio Network in Slovak 0800 GMT 23 Aug 92

[Text] The outstanding debt owed to Czech companies from the year 1991 was the main topic of yesterday's talks between Karel Dyba, Czech minister for economic policy and development, and Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin [location not given]. It emerged from the talks that in future months, Russia will not be able to meet its commitments. By the end of the year, however, companies may expect payment of part of the debt.

During his recent visit to Prague, Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar promised that Russia will liquidate debts amounting to \$100-200 million by the end of this year. That is no more than half of the Russian debt to our companies from 1991.

Polish Defense Minister Holds Cooperation Talks

LD2108195492 Prague CSTK in English
1605 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Bratislava Aug 21 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Imrich Andrejcek said at the end of a two-day working meeting with his Polish counterpart Janusz Onyszkiewicz that they did not deal with forming bilateral or trilateral unions. "We are convinced that we build our security mainly by political means", Andrejcek told a press conference at Tatranske Zruby, East Slovakia, today.

Onyszkiewicz said they discussed areas in which Czechoslovakia and Poland could coordinate their activity in the future while striving for a quick integration into Europe's structures. He mentioned a joint action in conducting inspections on the basis of the Vienna accords and in carrying out military and scientific-research tasks.

The two ministers agreed the way of exchanging experiences from and information on buying army equipment and training special units' personnel used in the fulfillment of U.N. tasks and education of experts monitoring air space.

Asked about an agreement in a case of emergency, Andrejcek said he did not see any reason for drawing up a bilateral or trilateral defensive agreement. He voiced the conviction that all problems can be resolved by political agreements. He went on to say that he will meet Hungarian Defence Minister Lajos Fur for similar talks at the beginning of September and that he will initiate a tripartite meeting in the nearest future.

Onyszkiewicz also said he favours trilateral cooperation in this respect.

Onyszkiewicz Reviews Talks

LD2108200292 Warsaw PAP in English
1719 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Tatranske Zruby, Aug. 21—Polish Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz and his Czechoslovak counterpart Imrich Andrejczak Friday [21 August] reiterated full conformity of views, both on European security and further forms of military cooperation at a press conference following their working meeting in the Slovak Tatra mountains locality of Tatranske Zruby on August 20-21.

Minister Onyszkiewicz stressed that military cooperation between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary is a crucial element of stabilization in Central Europe and it proves that the partners are ready to integrate into the European structures. The methods of cooperation have to be adapted to possible developments in the Czechoslovak Federation. He also voiced satisfaction over the cooperation between the Armed Forces of the two countries.

He said joint "open skies" inspections, coordinated research and development projects, mutual consultations on purchasing military hardware and plans to create joint air control systems are concrete examples of the two defence ministries' cooperation.

Minister Andrejczak said that the cooperation is aimed at cutting military spending and implementing peace-keeping efforts in Central Europe. Asked whether the talks touched upon possible cooperation in the case of war, he said that the issue had not been on the agenda, because the two countries want to discuss a military alliance within a Visegrad Triangle forum.

Minister Onyszkiewicz stressed that the accord and solidarity of democratic states is more important than military agreements when there is a threat to national security.

Defense Minister Comments on Plans To Split Army

LD2108211792 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television
Network in Slovak 1940 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] After a press conference given by the Czechoslovak and Polish defense ministers following their talks in Tatranske Matliare today we asked CSFR Defense Minister Imrich Andrejczak for a brief interview.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Minister, how is the redeployment of military units continuing in Slovakia, especially regarding combat units?

[Andrejczak] In essence, we have all our combat units redeployed. We are completing the redeployment of some mobilization units. This task will be completed by the end of October. This means that in comparison with the original plans, we have completed the redeployment a year ahead of schedule. The original plan was, of course, updated last year and, according to it, we are on schedule. Some details that require attention are not

worth talking about for this is an internal matter of commanders who are dealing with it and they do not have an influence on combat ability. [end recording]

Asked about how the present command of the Czechoslovak Army reacts to the talks between political and government representatives about the division of the CSFR, Imrich Andrejczak replied:

[Begin recording] As regards the intention of the political representatives in the event that the federation ceases to exist, calculations are being made about what this would mean for the Army, what would be the schedule. We are, in fact, preparing material that would enable us, after the law on the division of the federation is adopted, to draw up a draft directive for the president of the republic on the manner of dividing the Army. I wish, however, to stress one thing: In the event that this happens and the Army is split up, it will be split up in an organized manner under a combined command, which—in the foreseeable future—will apparently be turned into a joint coordinated organ of a European type. It is rather premature to talk about whether this will be a NATO type or a new security structure, provided it is crystallized in Europe and provided it is more advantageous for Czechoslovakia or rather for the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic at that time. [end recording]

FSIS Chairman Appoints New Deputy

LD2208011192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio
Network in Czech 1600 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Stefan Bacinsky, director of the Federal Security and Information Service, FSIS, today appointed, according to the Czech Government's decision, Stanislav Devaty to the post of his deputy and recalled Zdenek Vodslon, his existing deputy, from that post.

As Jiri Schneider, Civic Democratic Party spokesman, declared yesterday, Stanislav Devaty's appointment as FSIS deputy director will create scope for fulfillment of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia's basic requirement for the recall of Stefan Bacinsky, the existing FSIS chairman.

The Civic Democratic Party furthermore emphatically rejects any connection between the Czech Government's proposal to appoint Stanislav Devaty, a Civic Democratic Party deputy in the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Nations, as FSIS director, with the obstruction mounted by deputies of the Civic Democratic Party, Christian Democratic Party, and the Christian Democratic Union- Czechoslovak People's Party in the Federal Assembly in August.

Committee Recommends Approving Slovak Constitution

LD2208042892 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio
Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] The meeting of the Slovak National Council Constitutional and Legal Committee has continued

today for the third day. Boris Titikalo has prepared the following summary from today's proceedings:

In the presence of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, deputies, members of the Constitutional and Legal Committee, discussed chapters five through nine of the constitution of the Slovak Republic, which defines legislative and executive powers as well as the referendum and powers to be vested in the president.

At this moment, the deputies have approved winding up and transitional provisions. As in the previous two days, the most numerous comments were made by deputies representing the Party of the Democratic Left. According to Vladimir Meciar, after the constitution is adopted, the deputies will take a new parliamentary oath, and those deputies who will not take this oath will lose their parliamentary mandate.

Shortly after five o'clock, the deputies passed a vote recommending that the Slovak National Council plenum approve the constitution.

After a short break, the deputies will continue to discuss about 350 comments raised in individual committees. The meeting will go until ten o'clock tonight. The deputies will discuss the remaining comments tomorrow.

Meciar Doubts Federal Constitution's Future Validity

*LD2208012392 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Text] Speaking at a session of the Slovak National Council Constitutional and Legal Committee, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said today that we cannot provide guarantees that the Federal Constitution will still be valid on 15 September. He put forward this view in the context of a possible collision of Federal and republic constitutions and legislation.

As far as common defense policy is concerned, he noted that Slovakia was interested in having a common defense doctrine and command—however, according to certain signals, the Czech side has a different idea on how to solve this issue.

Slovak Party Drafts Treaty on National Coexistence

*AU2108132492 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 19 Aug 92 pp 1, 3*

[Igor Cibula report: "To Cultivate Coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks"]

[Text] The proposal for a treaty creating a Czechoslovak union—to emerge from the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic as successor states of the CSFR—that is being prepared by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] is a positive sign for the future development of Czecho-Slovak relations.

According to the working draft of this document, the two national republics should use all the favorable experience gained in the past to cultivate "the historical and cultural riches created by the centuries of coexistence of the Slovaks and the Czechs." The public should be interested in the drafting of this document because it may help stabilize Czecho-Slovak relations, and, at the same time, it will provide a more specific idea of the future form of Czechoslovakia should the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] representatives accept the proposal to sign a treaty on forming a Czechoslovak union.

According to the HZDS, the treaty should confirm the continuity of the CSFR state border as a binding undertaking of the two republics that they do not have any territorial claims against one another or against other states, nor will they make any such claims in the future. The treaty draft contains specific stipulations concerning the successor rights to the CSFR, including the federation's international treaties and the division of its property, state archives, debts, and obligations. It is expected that the actual process would follow international conventions and norms employed in the partition of other states.

Of particular significance is the stipulation of the proposed treaty—drawn according to the Maastricht accord—that each citizen of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic is a citizen of the Czechoslovak union. If his permanent residence is on the territory of the republic of which he is not a citizen, he has all the rights enjoyed by the citizens of that republic and legal regulations on the status of foreigners do not apply to him. The citizens of the union will have the right to vote and be elected to all state bodies of the republic on whose territory they have their permanent residence. In third countries, they have the right of protection by the representation office of the other republic, if no representation office of the republic of which they are citizens operates there. Also important is that the treaty enshrines the freedom of citizens to decide on their citizenship at will, so that the granting of citizenship by one republic will not be tied to renunciation of the citizenship of the other republic. When abroad, the citizens will also be able to take full advantage of double citizenship.

The Czechoslovak union should have—according to the proposal—a common institutional framework for the protection of human rights in the territory of both republics, within which cooperation between state bodies will take place, and which will facilitate the development of mutual relations on extra-government level. The Czech and the Slovak languages will be used on the territory of both republics without discrimination. State bodies of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic will communicate directly—and that includes administration, justice, and prosecution. Decisions made by the bodies of one republic will be recognized on the territory of the other republic without any special proceeding. Public documents issued by the bodies of one republic will have the power of public documents on

the territory of the other republic and the legal effect of decisions made by the bodies of the former CSFR will be intact.

The stipulations of the proposed treaty deserve a special mention that the two republics will define, form, and actively pursue common foreign and security policies; in particular, that they will coordinate their policies in the areas that are not a subject of their common interest. Furthermore, the obligation is also important that the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic will promote stands expressing their common interests even in instances when the other republic is not a member of the relevant international institution or is not participating in the international conference. The two republics may form joint bodies to represent them in relations with third countries and at international organizations and conferences.

The basic orientation of the common foreign and security policies should be set at a meeting of the presidents and prime ministers of the two republics, with the attendance of other constitutional officials, that would be called at least once a year. The Council of Foreign Ministers—as the main body for coordination of the foreign and security policies of the two republics—should meet every month. It is expected that these sessions would—if necessary—also be attended by defense, economy, or other ministers of the republic governments.

In addition to the treaty on creating the Czechoslovak union, a treaty on a commercial union is being considered that would institutionalize a common Czechoslovak market according to EC rules.

Although neither of the two documents has been discussed by HZDS and ODS representatives, based on some public statements by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, one can safely assume that interest exists in Prague in creating a productive institutional framework for Czechoslovakia as a partnership union of two sovereign states. If there is sufficient goodwill and willingness to compromise, a Czechoslovak union will arise that could be a positive expression of the Czechoslovak mutuality.

Meciar Comments on Constitutional Issues

*LD2108221292 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vadim Meciar by Zuzana Stukovska; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Stukovska] We shall begin with the most discussed topic of the day. The draft constitution of the Slovak Republic unequivocally represents the constitution of an independent state. When it comes into force an independent, sovereign Slovak state will be declared on our territory. When this assessment is uttered by a well-known expert in constitutional law—as was recently

done by Dr. Pavol Holender—citizens begin to get a little worried again that they may be deceived. They begin to wonder whether the promised referendum really will take place, if next week parliament does not adopt the government-sponsored draft constitution of the Slovak Republic.

[Meciar] Citizens are justified in worrying that they may be deceived, but it is Dr. Holender who is doing the deceiving. No doubt he is a highly erudite lawyer, but out of political motivation he is confusing ideas, meaning, and the extent of the measures. Unfortunately, if I am to assess him as a lawyer I discover significant gaps in constitutional law. The adoption of the constitution of the Slovak Republic is in harmony with the Federal Constitution. It was agreed 24 years ago that the constitutional affairs of the republics would be administered by their own constitutions; they would be administered by the Federal Constitution only when the constitution of the republic is not adopted. This means that the effectiveness of the Federal Constitution on the territory of Slovakia is ceasing [words indistinct], but the federation is preserved. As to the impact of this step and the extent of the powers, we are taking as our basis the idea of building mutual relations from the bottom. This means that all the principles, all the powers belong to the republic, and the republic will then decide which part it will give away. The constitution of the Czech Republic follows similar principles.

As to what the result will be, it is now clear that the federation as it is today cannot be saved. It is falling apart before our eyes; there is no way to preserve it except by force, and no one wants that. On the other hand, we realize that coexistence between the Czechs and the Slovaks has its significance and its lasting values. That is why we are, together with the Czechs, very patiently seeking its new form. Unfortunately, we talk very little about this new form. It has its exact features. There are four groups of problems for which we are seeking answers. There are expert groups who have already designed a form for this future coexistence. There will be political talks by the Slovak Government and other institutions that will further specify this. From the point of view of the state, this form of the state ceases to exist. From the point of view of coexistence, a new quality of relations between the Czechs and the Slovaks is coming into existence. All parties must agree upon what form it will take. In conclusion, when this agreement is ready, when agreement between the Slovak and Czech National Councils is concluded—and I firmly believe that it will be because any other way out would gravely harm both—then citizens will decide whether or not to accept it in the referendum.

[Stukovska] Prime Minister, will it not be a disadvantage for Slovakia if it has a constitution before the Czech Republic? Will the Czech leaders not create more elbow room for themselves in the state establishment talks—and, of course, the most important thing at stake—the right to succession.

[Meciar] Those are completely separate mechanisms. The right to succession is a standard of international law and the constitution is a standard of internal law. The relationship between the Czech and Slovak Republics is being built as a relationship between two state formations. This means that the constitution has only internal effect. The two republics must conclude an agreement that only at the time of the birth—the constitution—of these two subjects will adjust these relations.

As for the issue of succession, the political agreement between us and the Civic Democratic Party is such that neither of us wants to exploit the manner of the federation's termination. The situation is such, according to the existing law on the referendum, that the Slovak Republic could call a referendum and secede from the federation. In that case, however, the legal successor would be the Czech Republic. The Czech Republic has a similar right and it, too, can leave the federation. Then the legal successor would be the Slovak Republic, but that would be a fictitious succession since all the assets of the federation are in the holding of the Czech Republic. So it is as if I have a claim to some money that is in someone else's pocket; I am supposed to go and fetch it, but do not know how. So those are the questions of succession from a completely different aspect, and that is why we want to complete the constitutional development in the Slovak Republic by the end of August. The whole of September will then be dedicated to the abolition of federal bodies, down to the familiar five ministries, to the transfer of powers to the republics, which is certain progress. Then there will be the adoption of the law on the manner of the federation's dissolution where, besides this referendum—which is not a suitable measure in the present form—there must also be other common forms that expand and legitimize the space. The law must also solve the manner of the division of assets. The division of assets may be carried out in the context of a transfer of powers; it need not be bound to the manner of the dissolution of the state.

[Stukovska] If parliament adopts the constitution of the Slovak Republic by the end of August, when do you think the post of Slovak president will be occupied?

[Meciar] The question here is: When does the constitution come into effect? I am of the opinion that it should be immediately if it is clear that the process of the demise of the federation is taking a rapid course. At the same time, I must say what and who are the institutions that will take over these functions and duties. There cannot be a state of legal and institutional independence. So these institutions must constitute themselves as soon as possible to be immediately capable of exercising constitutional duties in compliance with the constitution. The state administration, the performance of all activities—everything has to be secured.

We are in a situation where we are trying to close our more than one-year handicap behind the Czech Republic. Within two months we have managed to eliminate all the risk factors in the economic sphere

connected with supplies from the Czech Republic. In two months we have managed to create the foundations of the constitutional system of the Slovak Republic. We can rapidly constitute bodies—if you will excuse me, I shall not give the exact date because the selection of candidates is a relatively complicated matter, but the outline of certain faces is becoming clearer. As for the exercise of duties ensuing from the constitution, then it is actually the first step toward a comprehensive change of the entire legal system of the Slovak Republic. We start with this constitution. What follows is an end of patchwork, of playing lawyer's tricks. The whole legal code of the Slovak Republic must be reconstructed and changed, and that is not possible without a change in the fundamental standard—the constitution.

So every article of the constitution is at least one new act that will substantially change the face of Slovakia.

[Stukovska] Prime Minister, what is your relationship with Alexander Dubcek in this sense? Obviously, you know that Mr. Dubcek granted an interview to LA REPUBBLICA during a recent holiday in Italy. When asked if he would accept the post of president of the Slovak Republic, he replied that no one would offer it to him. Meciar and Klaus take every opportunity to discredit me, they consider me yesterday's man and they keep telling me that I have done little for this new republic, Dubcek said. Prime Minister, when did Dubcek become yesterday's man for you?

[Meciar] Unverified newspaper quotes are not very credible to me. I would have to hear it from Mr. Dubcek to be able to comment on this. Allow me to describe my relationship with him. As a young boy, Dubcek was my idol, the idol of an attempt at change, a change to some other quality of life that we all believed in and hoped for. We could feel this; the time was pregnant with all the changes and he was the symbol of the changes. Dubcek could not completely finish his work, not because his intentions were evil, but because they were suppressed by the tanks of other states, by the occupation regime and oppression. Just as he left the scene, I also voluntarily left the scene because I believed in what Dubcek represented. It was logical that, when the time came to search for a new form, I intuitively sought paths to Dubcek. We had never been in direct contact, but I wanted to establish intensive contacts with him. It was also logical that after 1989 we endorsed Dubcek as our symbol, hoping that he would bring new stimuli for the new society. We supported him all the time he was in the Federal Assembly so that he might not be stripped of the post of Federal Assembly chairman, which almost happened many times. At the same time, we offered Alexander Dubcek a place on the Movement for Democratic Slovakia candidate list, which, by the way, Mr. Dubcek promised us almost a year earlier. At the last minute, for various reasons, he changed his decision. At the moment, there is the question about the relation of the two parties and two programs, which he represents, and there is also the difference that has been very markedly apparent in the past period. Mr. Dubcek would be wrong

to think that I want to harm him. I am the last person who would want to be uncivil to him. One has, however, to ask: Can we have a president with a different political concept from that of the executive, legislative, and judicial power? There would be disunity in the higher organs. We have built a certain image of Slovakia with which he does not identify. This means that at the moment of inauguration, there would be a confusion of these images and other signals abroad. Whom should the foreign countries believe and whom should they accept? That is the only factor leading us toward a critical reassessment of whether or not, in these circumstances, Alexander Dubcek would be a suitable candidate.

I do not deny that, from the point of view of Slovakia, two politicians are known in the world today: the positive Alexander Dubcek and the negative Vladimir Meciar. An editor from Austria told me that I have a fantastic advantage: My reputation is so bad that it cannot get any worse, it can only get better in the future. We cannot build on that, though. We must seek what unites us. We cannot fail to see the fact that essentially, Dubcek failed with his party in the elections. The citizens rejected him. What other mechanisms can one use to raise him to the pedestal of state power once more?

I respect and will respect Dubcek for his work. I think that the historical period that he represented has not been properly assessed, that the appropriate lessons have not been derived from it. That was where the first wave of dissent was born, that was where the first organized resistance was born, albeit from within the Communist Party, but from the point of view of realistic politics I must do what suits this society. Thus, my personal relation to Dubcek is not what will decide the political motive for his future position.

[Stukovska] Prime Minister, do you think that there are enough figures in Slovakia who would be suitable for the supreme post of Slovak president?

[Meciar] I see two such figures in Slovakia and one abroad. We will see what is going to be the result of the talks that are taking place. Of course, this cannot be decided by one person; we need to achieve a wider consensus. We are looking for a representative of our statehood, a representative of the Slovaks as a nation, someone who will achieve what we need at present—the opening of doors. We are a well-hidden nation in the heart of Europe. We need to send signals about ourselves—not that we are good, but that we are what we are. Propaganda, whether supported by Budapest or Prague, portrays Slovaks as something they have never been and describes them as quite different from what they are. It distorts their image worldwide.

[Stukovska] Let us return for a while from the future to the reality of these days. It is summer and everyone is going somewhere—when and where is the Slovak prime minister going for his first official working visit abroad?

[Meciar] Some people have the feeling that we do not travel abroad enough. Nevertheless, we work very intensively on achieving changes in some ambassadorial posts and this process is about to be concluded. This means that the Slovaks' representation is being tackled, above all, through diplomatic channels.

I have a specific invitation from the Hungarian prime minister. The date of our meeting is set for 9 September. Second, I have invitations from several other states, specifically Germany, and a possible visit to the Vatican is being discussed. I have invitations from Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Austria, and Italy as well as the United States. Of course these invitations are preliminary ones, with the dates and extent of the visits to be outlined in detail according to what will suit both sides from a work point of view.

[Stukovska] What are you going to tell those people who think that it should have been Vadim Meciar who visited Budapest first and Vaclav Klaus only after him?

[Meciar] The choice of the date is sometimes a technical matter and sometimes a political matter. In this case, it was a political matter. If I want to go there with a certain concept of views, it is inevitable that first, they should get to know Klaus's concept. What I expected to happen really did happen. I am extremely satisfied with that visit and it will make my position in Hungary much easier.

Klaus Reviews Ties With Meciar, Completion of Dam
*LD2208050592 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 1940 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Panorama" program; Klaus speaks in Czech with simultaneous translation into Hungarian—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, at the moment, the most important question in Czechoslovakia is about the breakup of the federal state or rather, the method for this breakup.

[Klaus] I would argue with those who say that this is the breakup of a state because in my view, this is a divorce.

[Correspondent] The characteristics of the present Czechoslovak situation is that the Slovak party's position is predominant. According to this, Slovakia wishes to be independent.

[Klaus] The Czech party also accepts this view; it takes it into consideration and understands it. True, it is not too enthusiastic about it; however, this is reality. Therefore, I would rather talk about divorce than about a controlled and regulated process.

[Correspondent] There is a view according to which the reason why the separation is favorable to Slovakia is because economic reform is being held back there.

[Klaus] Yes, this corresponds to the facts. But this is not decisive during the course of our decisions.

[Correspondent] How would you characterize Mr. Meciar's politics?

[Klaus] Meciar is a Slovak politician. A Slovak politician who got a lot of votes in his country, and no other Slovak politician can compete with this kind of support. Look, he makes his policies as best he can. To me, he is a partner, not chosen by me, but the Slovak nation voted for him at the elections. And my duty is to treat him as a partner from now on.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion about Meciar's remark that it is high time to complete the Boes project; no matter how much it costs, 2 billion crowns or whatever, according to him, the power station has to be completed, come what may.

[Klaus] I have no opinion regarding Mr. Meciar in relation to this; however, I do have an opinion about the water barrage itself. In my view, a solution that would be acceptable for both parties always has to be sought. But here, the basic condition is that both parties should give up their original concept, which they set in concrete, a little and a solution can only be sought after this. For, if one or the other party is not willing to diverge from its current position, then agreement is impossible. This also goes for Hungary, not only for Slovakia.

The idea that Hungary can maintain its current position unchanged is unrealistic, in my view. And it would be a mistake to spread this illusion in Hungary. I believe that a compromise solution is possible, but both parties have to be willing to compromise.

[Correspondent] Should it be completed or not?

[Klaus] The idea that a giant or supernatural force will go to the building site today and put everything in order—as if nothing has ever been built there—is rather childish. This is the idea of irresponsible people. The compromise solution probably does not mean we will be able to reinstate the situation of 20 years ago. If we talk about completion of the project, however, the small word of completion can be accepted. The question is what and how to complete it.

[Correspondent] In the future, it will be not Czechoslovakia, but Slovakia, Hungary's direct neighbor. Prime Minister Meciar's nationality policy often causes anxiety in the Hungarians of Slovakia.

[Klaus] I do not want to defend the Slovak Government's current politics. But I think that the future Slovak situation will be a lot more rational, not only regarding nationalities, but also in general political and economic issues, than it may seem from the recent statements of certain Slovak politicians.

My opinion is, what is more, I am convinced that Slovakia will become a European state and relations with nationalities will not get worse than in any other civilized European state.

Antall Addresses Hungarian World Congress

*LD2108212292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Aug 92*

["Excerpt" of speech by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to the Third World Congress of Hungarians in Budapest on 19 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr. President, My Esteemed Compatriots, Ladies and Gentlemen. My friend Sandor Csoori [the preceding speaker] caused me frank embarrassment when he quoted, together with the government program, a statement of mine [regarding the desire to be prime minister of all 15 million Hungarians in the world] that did indeed spark a certain political storm. A statement that I have not yet regretted, that I am guided by time and time again, and to which I adhere. [applause] [passage omitted]

I feel that through you I can speak for the homeland and not just the government. But as I put it then too, since this is the basis of democracy, as I have been elected I speak as the representative of all 10 million Hungarian citizens. My words have to represent the joint words of the government and the opposition whenever we speak about the basic issues of national destiny. [applause] [passage omitted]

This idea, this awareness of cohesion between the fragmented Magyardom, has lived in the nation's consciousness since the time of Brother Julian, and not just in the depths of the Vatican archives. And we know well that it lived not only in us, but it lived also in the Hungarians who were left in the onetime Magna Hungaria that perished as a result of the Tatar, the Mongol inundation. They knew that their brothers lived somewhere in the West. That was when the idea of union arose. Let this be the example, let this be the guiding principle: That no matter what happens, no matter how history develops, for us everybody belongs to a spiritual Magna Hungaria, no matter where he lives, no matter what kind of citizen he is; whether he professes himself to be a member of the Hungarian nation, or whether he feels a dual commitment to the ancient homeland and the new homeland, with decency and honor let him always find a home here at home. [applause] [passage omitted]

We have to know that our cohesion and this 1,100-year presence in this region, in this homeland of today, and our statehood of at least 1,000 years, of which we can be proud, means a lot of things at once. But first and foremost it means that Magyardom has been a shelter-giving nation [befogado nemzet], not only by title of the ancients, but with the desire of belonging to Magyardom, with the feeling of belonging to Magyardom, and of identifying with Magyardom. Magyardom has always given shelter to those who wanted it. [passage omitted]

The other thing it means is that Magyardom not only has given shelter, but it tolerated, it forbore, and what is more it even considered it fortunate, ever since the time of our first king, if ethnic groups and peoples of other

tongues have lived here together with us. Let them leave their imprint here, let them bring new values. And because of this our national and minority policy is based on this 1,000-year-old thought of St. Stephen's and on the fact that it is possible to belong to Magyardom, it is possible to coexist with Magyardom, and Magyardom takes pleasure in this. Magyardom receives cordially and has received cordially the minorities and the nationalities within the borders of the homeland; and this also has its 1,000-year-old tradition.

It is to this we adhere also when, not only by virtue of a prime minister's testimony, but on the basis of paragraph 3 of section 6 of the altered and today valid Constitution, it is the duty of the Hungarian Government to undertake responsibility for the Hungarians living beyond the borders of the homeland, and to do everything to enable them to keep in touch. [applause]

I have already said this elsewhere, in the framework of the world meeting as well: Who is surprised if the Germans are preoccupied by the fate, by the human and minority rights, of the Volga Germans fragmented on the territory of the former Soviet Union? Who can take it amiss if in Israel they are preoccupied by the fate of the world's Jewry? We find this natural. But we ask that cognizance be taken of the fact that we too are interested in the fate of Magyardom in the world. [prolonged applause] We ask no more or less than other peoples.

[passage omitted] Who can doubt that the Trianon Peace Treaty following World War I could cause pain to this people, this country? Nobody can doubt this, as we do not doubt that it could possibly give joy to those who, out of other peoples, other nationalities, had set this as an aim for themselves in the circumstances of the last century's dreams of nation-states. If we can once sit down with honesty and say: It may have given you joy and is giving you joy today, but please understand that it is causing us pain because it meant the tearing up of our culture. Each family has its own particular pain, for they have separated from their brothers and sisters or separated from their motherland.

This is a historical truth that must be stated, [applause] and it must be, [applause] it must be stated that this brings pain and causes pain and that it is difficult for a country to digest the loss of its territories, the fact that half of its population or every third Hungarian ended up abroad, and the loss of two-thirds of the country. This is a natural pain nobody can question, and the person standing on the other side could consider us liars if a Hungarian could say to this: I am happy about it, or for me it is a matter of indifference. We can be credible if we state this pain.

Proclaiming this historical truth I state today that in the international situation of today, after the devastation of two world wars; after right-wing and left-wing dictatorships; when all hell could be let loose on our old continent; when we must strive to see that blood is not shed; when we must endeavor that stability and order

prevails in this region, then this question should not be approached simply from the point of view of this historical pain. It must also be approached from the viewpoint of today's realities that means that in the Helsinki Agreement we gave up the possibility of changing the borders by force when we accepted this principle by signing the Paris Charter, together with the other peoples of Europe. However, the fact that neither human rights nor national minority rights...[changes thought] The right of self-determination cannot be accepted without the protection of minority rights closely linked to this principle.

Nobody can say that the minority issue is an internal matter. The minority issue is not an internal matter. [applause] We do not only find this compulsory for us, but we also accept it from others, too. Let them say if they experience any kind of violation of the law in the case of any of the national minorities in Hungary. We shall always investigate the matter and take action. We do not ask for this unilaterally. But today, when we proclaim the historical injustice, at the same time we proclaim the basic political requirement that together with a new Europe, a new world order, should go the fact that nations and national minorities must take advantage, in a manner worthy of human beings, of the possibilities ranging from cultural autonomy to self-government autonomy, or on the basis of the principle of autonomy based on individual rights, according to their order of magnitude, their place, in every country and everywhere, according to the requirements of the circumstances and the local representatives of the Hungarian community. If we look at it like this, then nobody can continuously insinuate that they have to fear us. I have heard this from certain politicians so many times, not only at home: that we cause fear. I always ask: Are you not ashamed of yourselves that you are afraid? Of what? Of the fact that the armies of each country in our region are many times as big as ours? Of the fact that our political endeavors have declared unequivocally that Hungarians as an enemy image should not be used anywhere to hold together countries, to mislead peoples? Hungarians are not the enemy of anybody; we want to live on good neighborly relations with everyone. [applause] [passage omitted]

I would like to say to those who profess different views, different political concepts, that today, in 1992, many people consider the result of the transformation to be inadequate; they find them inadequate in politics, they find them inadequate in compensation, they find them inadequate in the advance of the economy. Others, of course, find them too much, and they accuse us of wanting to resurrect old political systems. We are immediately described as conservatives or retrograde if we do not want to set off on unknown paths, breaking away from the Hungarian historical perpetuity, forgetting everything, without shouldering our own historical awareness.

But you who ask us in government, and who ask this oft-chided National Assembly and government, what

they are doing in the interest of this country's independence—I think we have nothing to be ashamed of. And not only because we have created this independence, but because we were in the forefront in this. And really, no matter where and no matter when you ask the leading world politicians what demands we came forward with, we Hungarians.... [sentence incomplete as heard]

Something that seems so natural today was not natural four years ago, even three years ago, because the world was not prepared for the Soviet Union breaking up and for world communism to collapse. [applause] [passage omitted] For this very reason, both in world politics, and I can safely say also in the very wide public opinion, we received little support and little backing when we set off on this path. They should not now call us to account for what we launched and carried out at a time when it had its risks. Don't let them think that it was a picnic [setagalopp] to get this far.

I can also tell you that barely a year and a half ago the Soviet Government's representative did indeed bring to our attention that they would not withdraw from Hungary if we did not pay, and they would not fulfill the preliminary agreements if we did not make the appropriate concessions. I could also tell you how the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty was achieved, how it happened, and how the Hungarian submission in June 1990 occurred. We were on our own, and we were likewise alone, to begin with, when the dissolution of CEMA took place. [applause]

And yes indeed, in the withdrawal of the Soviet troops as well, we had to conduct discussions with tough demands. I would like everybody to know that this game has two possible outcomes today as well. Let no one harbor illusions that in the long-term, in the historical perspective, there will not be a Russian soldier or politician who might again think of returning to this region, or that there will not be a member of the political ruling classes who would like to regain power.

It depends on you, together with us, whether we can hold our own and whether we will be true to Hungarian ideas, to Hungarian democratic ideas, and our constitutional ideas, and never again give ground to occupiers either from within or without, and maintain our sovereignty, with our thousand-year awareness of Hungarian solidarity. I finish with this. Thank you for listening to me. [applause]

Foreign Minister Interviewed on Minority Issues

LD2308102792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by correspondent Ernoe Kardos; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kardos] The World Congress of Hungarians [19-21 August] is being watched by neighboring countries with some anxiety. As foreign minister, how much

have you managed to reassure Romanian or Slovak public opinion that there is no question of some kind of show of strength here?

[Jeszenszky] If reassurance is really needed, then the Hungarian Government is ready to provide it, but I think that this meeting itself could prove precisely that those who are seriously afraid have no reason to be so. However, I think there are very many people who are not really afraid or worried, but would simply like to create a kind of hysteria to serve their own selfish, narrow nationalist aims.

The Hungarian Government represents Hungary's policies, and we take responsibility for the statements and deeds of this government. The deputies and parties of the Hungarian National Assembly are also responsible for their steps. These can be considered authentic, that is genuine, Hungarian stances. As for anything that may be said at various meetings, anyone who wants to can certainly find something shocking—not just in Hungary. Just think of how many statements have been or are being voiced in neighboring countries that could arouse justified worries in us, or even more, arouse very justified worries among the Hungarian minorities living there. However, it is not that we do not pay attention—we do pay attention and note these—but we do not want to confuse the manifestations of madmen or extremists with those of responsible elements. [passage omitted]

[Kardos] [passage omitted] You said the Hungarian Government accepts the Helsinki Document's basic principle that borders cannot be changed by force. I wonder whether the borders in central Europe can be changed without force?

[Jeszenszky] If I were to answer this as a historian, which indeed I am, I could say that throughout history very many peace treaties have been signed and very many borders have been drawn, but these have changed. However, in the current situation, this is not what is on the agenda, either in Europe or in the world. What is on the agenda is not the rearranging or redrawing of the borders, but changing the nature of the borders.

Anyone who travels to Western Europe, as many Hungarians have done, can see that crossing borders is a formality. Both tourists and goods cross quite freely. [passage omitted] This is on the agenda here too. That this process is proceeding with greater difficulty and more slowly here, does not depend primarily on us, or exclusively on our neighbors either, but to a great deal on economics, and on the political will of the West European countries. This is one factor. The other thing is that in neighboring countries, I do not know... [changes thought] There are certainly some people who deliberately put border questions, the perceived dangers of these, into the forefront, alarming public opinion. What would represent a danger, in my opinion, is for the rights of the Hungarian or other minorities to be infringed, for their existence to be made impossible. [passage omitted]

[Kardos] How can you as foreign minister hold talks when Hungary itself has not really adopted a minority law to ensure minority autonomy in Hungary?

[Jeszenszky] First of all, in Hungary the non-Hungarian minorities have the widest ranging rights, even without a law. I think Hungarians in neighboring countries would be very glad to be able to live as freely, and to be as unworried about their future as the minorities in Hungary. However, a minority law has been prepared, parliament will debate it in the fall. I can say with confidence that, however many details of this law may be debated, there is scarcely a minority law in Europe as good as this one.

Report Sums Up World Congress of Hungarians

LD2108214492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Report by correspondents Kata Peli-Nagy and Levente Sukosd on Third World Congress of Hungarians]

[Excerpts] Breaking away from the previous organizational structure, deemed to be overcentralized, the congress changed the 1931 statutes on several significant points. They decided that from now on the president and the three vice presidents will be elected by the delegates' General Assembly. The other leading bodies will be voted on by the three regions, that is by Hungarians living in Hungary, those in the minorities, and those who have emigrated, within their own spheres of authority. According to this, the presidium will be three times (?seven) members, the board will be composed of 90 members in the same proportion, and the ethnic committee will be made up of six individuals.

A significant change is that from now on the post of general-secretary will be a paid job. The Federation, instead of being under the leadership of one individual, will be put under corporate, presidium direction. The statutes declare: The organization is built from the bottom upwards, operates independently of parties and governments. From now on the members of the Federation can also be individuals, not just organizations.

Sandor Csoori, speaking about the talks that were held behind closed doors throughout, said that he is not afraid of quarrels, for he acknowledges that sharp debates are also needed. Unity, however, will not be formed within the framework of platforms, he emphasized, but in heart and spirit. He trusts in this unity of spirit also because the divisions that rest on various views can make the Hungarians living in the three regions opponents but not alien to each other. The aim of the world meeting is revision, but this means moral revision, not that of borders. [passage omitted]

The press briefing by Bishop Laszlo Tokes ended a few minutes ago. At this, the bishop said that the World Federation of Hungarians is not a political organization, thus it cannot issue political statements. Therefore, the statement read by Miklos Duray about minority and

self-determination rights cannot be considered by the World Federation of Hungarians as its own; it only has a right to recommend it.

About the World Congress of Hungarians of Transylvania that is to begin tomorrow, the bishop's opinion is that this event can only harm the Hungarians living in Romania.

Transylvanian Hungarians Adopt Declaration

LD2208172992 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Text] The Transylvanian Hungarian Congress is holding its conference in Budapest, and it adopted a declaration about the self-determination right of minorities. Levente Suekosd reports:

[Suekosd] The main cause of the tragic process underway in the central European region originates from ignoring the self-determination right of peoples, says the Budapest declaration of the Transylvanian Hungarian Congress. Therefore, the Hungarians of Transylvania demand observation of the right of self-determination as a basic human right, also laid down in international documents.

They call on the parliament and Government of Romania to make it possible for the Hungarians of Transylvania to declare their will without fear, to exercise their right of self-determination without limitations on the basis of human and basic freedom rights. They ask the Hungarian Government to fulfill its obligations under international law and the Hungarian Constitution in front of international forums for the protection of the Hungarians of Transylvania. Moreover they demand that the Hungarian Government should initiate the setting up of an international penal court that would be authorised to punish genocide, including cultural genocide. They call on the EC not to conclude an association agreement with Romania without the institutional involvement of the Hungarians of Transylvania and the complete fulfillment of the above demands.

Finally, the Transylvanian Hungarian Congress welcomes the adoption of the resolution proposal submitted by Miklos Duray [at the World Congress of Hungarians]. Those present voted unanimously in favor of the Transylvanian Hungarian World Congress becoming an organization as a permanent congress.

The former copresident, Istvan Zolcsak of Brazil, was elected president. Karoly Kiraly became the present copresident, and Ferenc Acél became secretary of the newly elected leadership body. He is also the executive secretary of the Foundation for the Hungarians of Transylvania.

Officials at World Federation of Hungarians Elected

LD2208002492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Sandor Csoori has again been elected president of the World Federation of Hungarians. He received 144 of the 160 valid votes. The three vice presidents will each represent one region, thus, (Jenoe Fonay) will represent Hungary, Laszlo Dobos from Slovakia will represent the Carpathian Basin, and (Ernoe Jakabfy) will represent Hungarians in the west.

The general assembly elected a 90-member presidium, in which the three regions have an equal number of representatives. From now on, individuals can also be members of the Federation that is independent of political organizations.

The closing statement of the congress emphasizes that it held its meetings in the spirit of peace between Eastern European peoples, and a new spirit of cooperation, trusting that in the hope of building up a long-term policy, the neighboring peoples will accept the Hungarian initiatives and will respond to these with similar ones.

Defense Minister Addresses Officer Graduates

LD2108173492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] This year fewer officers were sworn in at the usual 20 August officers' swearing-in ceremony in front of the parliament building, partly because the army today needs fewer leaders and partly because the prestige of a military career has declined. This was disclosed among other things in Defense Minister Lajos Fur's speech at the ceremony. Andras Svaby reports:

This year 249 army officers and 50 border guard officers were sworn in on Kossuth Square. This number is smaller than in previous years, the reason being that in 1989 registration at the military academy was reduced to about 550 people. The drop out rate in recent years exceeded 40 percent, mainly due to the decline in the prestige of a military career. Defense Minister Lajos Fur greeted the sworn-in officers:

[Fur] "You entered the academy in a different world and now, when you begin your careers as officers, you are stepping into a completely different world."

During these three years changes have taken place in world history that hide unprecedented chances but also latent dangers.

[Fur] "The external circumstances that have accumulated such a huge amount of tension in this region that at times these tensions, as we can see, end up in bloody internal conflicts, also make our situation more difficult."

At the same time it is encouraging, Lajos Fur added, that the principles of defense have been outlined, and the draft of the new defense law is also ready. They have also created small military units that can act quickly to eliminate a possible smaller local conflict. Fur reminded the young that without them there is neither a Hungarian Army nor Hungarian rebirth.

[Fur] "We must begin without delay to work out the youth policy concept by which youth can be included in the creation of the new Hungarian democracy, and in laying the foundation of the new market economy and the nation's future."

Finally, the minister also spoke of the fact that the World Congress of Hungarians is a worthy framework of the swearing-in ceremony today.

[Fur] "This family gathering must be mentioned, the way the peasant woman has put it: Whatever happened, the family is together. Yes, it is together again, and wants to stay together, too."

Gonc, Kucan Open New Border Crossings

*LD2108202792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Text] A new border crossing point has been opened between Slovenia and Hungary at (Turnyiszentmiklos). The crossing point was inaugurated by the two countries' foreign ministers in the presence of Slovene President Milan Kucan and Hungarian President Arpad Goncz. Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel expressed hope that through the border opening the two countries' minorities can find a route to each other, and that will also contribute to the deepening of good-neighborly relations.

According to Geza Jeszenszky, the border opening may boost economic relations, too. After this Arpad Goncz and the foreign minister travelled to Slovenia.

Station in Slovenia Opened

*LD2208003592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Excerpts] New crossing stations have opened at the Slovenian-Hungarian border. Ferenc Reti reports.

[Reti] [passage omitted] In the afternoon, another border station opened some dozens of kilometers further north between Felsocoelnoek, Vas county, and (Martinje) in Slovenia. Here Arpad Goncz told the several hundred people present that what he wishes most is for statesmen to no longer have to be invited to the opening of further and further border crossing points because it is natural to be able to go to school, to shop, or to visit relatives from here to there, and from there to here without further ado.

Slovene President Milan Kucan also described the border opening as a remedy for a historic injustice. He also added: Practically, there are no ethnically pure states in Europe; therefore, the solution is the assertion of human rights everywhere and a high-level protection for the minorities.

Following the celebration, the two foreign ministers signed a no-visa agreement between the two countries.

Between the opening of the two border crossing points, in Lendva [Lendava] of Slovenia, Milan Kucan decorated Geza Jeszenszky with the Freedom Gold Order of Merit in recognition of his merits in the improvement of the two countries' relations. He invited Arpad Goncz on a Ljubljana visit.

Walesa Proposes Consultation Committee to Yeltsin
LD2108215192 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1500 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] President Lech Walesa has sent a letter to Russian President Boris Yeltsin in which he refers to recent talks in Moscow and Helsinki. He proposes consideration of the creation of a consultation committee of experts representing the presidents of the Russian Federation and the Polish Republic, and consideration of problems of mutual interest, the presidential press office reported today.

Lithuanian Electoral Partitioning Affects Poles
LD2108222292 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Parliamentary elections in Lithuania are to take place on 25 October. News from Vilnius reached participants in the Polish Emigres Congress in Krakow today that the main Lithuanian electoral commission has carried out partitioning into electoral districts. This decision was commented by Czeslaw Okinczyc, deputy chairman of the foreign commission of the Lithuanian parliament, who was present at the Krakow Congress:

[Okinczyc] Partitioning into districts in this way is, in a sense, contrary to the electoral law and to the principles that guided the main electoral commission. I have read an interview in the Lithuanian press in which the deputy of the main electoral commission was saying that: We had set up these districts on the principle of not linking more than two regions.

The point is that with this division the Vilnius region is partitioned into three regions, into three small parts, and joined to other neighboring regions, to regions that we ethnically call Lithuanian. In this situation Poles will obviously not make up the majority in these regions, especially not in two of them—so there will arise the difficulty of choosing a candidate in a one-mandate constituency [as heard]. But one electoral district, the Vilnius-Salcininkai district, is in effect dominated by inhabitants of Polish nationality, more than 80 percent, and definitely in this district there is a possibility—in this one-mandate district—of choosing a deputy who would be a Pole, a representative for the inhabitants of that electoral district. In the remaining districts the chances are doubtful.

Ukrainian Forum Expects More Aid From Poland
LD2408105792 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0300 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Text] The debates of the World Forum of Ukrainians have ended in Gniezno. Speaking at the forum, Jerzy Rejt, leader of the Union of Ukrainians in Poland, said that the most important matter for the Ukrainian minority in our country is the adoption by the Polish parliament of a law on national minorities. In his opinion the Ukrainian minority should also be receiving

a larger amount of financial help from the Polish state for the development of Ukrainian culture and the protection of places of national remembrance, linked to, among others, the Ukrainian insurrection army the UPA [radical nationalist military group set up in 1940 that cooperated with Germany during the war; it continued activities after World War II until liquidation in 1948].

Jerzy Rejt noted with satisfaction the signing of the treaty of friendship, cooperation, and goodneighborly relations between Poland and Ukraine.

Emigre Communities Congress Discusses Aiding Poles
LD2108220292 Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Krakow, Aug. 21—Aid to Poles in the East and plans to integrate Polish emigre communities were the main topics of the debate held during the first congress of the Polish Emigre Communities in Krakow on Friday [21 August].

Several working committees met to discuss the issues of the Polish culture abroad, pastoral service, and Poland's promotion in the world.

A committee responsible for the assistance for the Poles in the East proposed to draw up a 10-year project covering the Poles living in countries of the former Soviet Union. It was pointed out that the Polish Government should undertake measures to protect the Polish minority and the human rights there. Apart from Polish communities in Kazakhstan, Romania, and Moldova, aid should also be provided to the Polish community in former Yugoslavia.

Discussion in the organizing committee focused on the idea to set up a coordinating bureau as a bridge between Poland and the emigre communities. The idea to establish the office in Poland won approval of the majority of delegates.

Boleslaw Wierzbianski from the United States said that the office would be exclusively an advisory body. Ryszard Zakrzewski (Great Britain) put forward a proposal to change the status of the "Wspolnota Polska" association as an organization uniting all Polish communities worldwide.

Members of the Committee for Pastoral Services in the East stated that teaching religion, the Polish language and providing care to the youth, families and the elderly are the most important tasks of the priests.

Members of the Committee for Promoting Poland's Affairs came out in favour of supporting Poland's efforts to join the European Communities and other international organizations. They said it was necessary for Poland to gain access to the Western bank loans and overcome her isolation internationally.

The Sejm Committee for Contacts with the Polish Emigre Communities, meeting with representatives of

Poles living abroad on Friday, promised to introduce amendments to the electoral law, to deal with problems and disputes concerning privatisation and clear up misunderstanding concerning granting pensions to Poles wishing to return to Poland.

"All proposals and demands voiced by the delegates have been written down. They will be discussed during one of the Sejm sessions. I am going to file a motion in that matter soon", Committee Chairman Slawomir Siwek said.

Walesa, Suchocka on Application, Observance of Law
LD2108191792 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT
21 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—President Lech Walesa received Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka in the Belvedere Friday [21 August] to discuss the application and observance of law, particularly in doing away with fraud and in enforcing law during wildcat strikes, the president's press office said August 21.

The premier said the government wanted to pursue firm and consistent policy and it would be groundless to mistake this for arrogance. The president came out for the firm observance of law to do away with all social ills, which is the common goal of the presidential office and the government to guarantee calm and security for the state and citizens.

Premier Suchocka said steps would also be taken to improve the work of customs services so as to facilitate tight border control.

According to the president, all problems, even those most difficult that emerge during transformations of the Polish economy, should be solved in cooperation and agreement with society, the communique said.

Raising Taxes To Save Budget Proposed
LD2108153592 Warsaw PAP in English 1252 GMT
21 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—President Walesa's economic adviser Andrzej Olechowski said Friday [21 August] that raising taxes and improvement in collecting them "can turn out to be the only way to save the falling budget."

Olechowski told the Radio Zet that it is impossible for the budget deficit to close at the planned sum of 65 trillion zlotys (about 4.8 billion dollars). He said there were no major errors as regards expenditures but incomes fell.

The new presidential adviser added that under such circumstances there was only one way, unpleasant for all taxpayers, namely to raise taxes and improve collecting them.

Police Force Finances Considered 'Catastrophic'
AU2208154792 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 18 Aug 92 p 2

["ira"-signed report: "The Police Force Is Falling Apart"]

[Excerpts] The police force has no clothes, no vehicles, and no firearms. There is a shortage of money for virtually everything: from caps to patrol cars. All training has already been suspended. Its debts are growing. Commander Zenon Smolarek maintains that "the police force is falling apart." The Main Headquarters has presented a report on the catastrophic state of its finances.

There Are No Firearms

Ammunition supplies are exhausted. The ordinary patrol service alone is already in immediate need of 6.5 million rounds. Practice shooting has been halted. Other forms of training are also not taking place. Perhaps the Army can give the police some 9mm rounds in exchange for other types of ammunition.

There Are No Vehicles

There is a shortage of 12,000 patrol cars, while almost half of those on the road have clocked up more than the permissible 100,000 kilometers. The stores do not have a single tire, accumulator, or any other spare parts in stock. [passage omitted]

There Is No Accommodation

The police requires 308 buildings for police stations and regional headquarters. A further 400 facilities have to be rented for auxiliary services. Major repairs need to be carried out in half the premises used by the police. There is no temporary accommodation for 5,000 employees. [passage omitted]

There Are No Sponsors

Campaigns to win sponsors has not brought any great results: no more than 30 vehicles, 100 drunkometers, 8 electronic drunkometers [alkomati], and 100 hand radars; in total, equipment worth approximately 7 billion zloty.

Meanwhile, 5,000 bulletproof vests, 3,500 cameras, 3,000 electronic drunkometers, 1,000 radars, 5,000 forensic sets, 500 units of recording equipment (camera, video recorder, television), and 15 baggage-screening machines need to be purchased in 1992. All this is expected to cost approximately 230 billion zloty, a sum equivalent to the police debt in 1991.

As a result of unpaid bills, interest owing has risen to many billions. It appears from the report that the police is currently struggling more against its creditors than against law-breakers.

Moves To Ban Farmers 'Self-Defense' Reported

AU2208155292 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 18 Aug 92 p 1

["ard, ira"-report: "'Self-Defense' To Be Outlawed?"]

[Text] An application to outlaw the "Self-Defense" farmers trade union will probably be filed next week. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has handed over to the Ministry of Justice materials gathered by the police and the Office for the Protection of the State that are to prove the union's illegal activities. We heard about this yesterday from well-informed sources in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

From what we have learned, it turns out that most of the materials handed over to the Prosecutor's Office contain information on the behavior of members of the "Self-Defense" movement during the occupation of the Ministry of Agriculture in April, the road blockades in June, and the protest march from different parts of the country that converged on Warsaw in July. The law-enforcement bodies were also interested in credit agreements between certain "Self-Defense" activists and banks as well as in the activities of the so-called "anti-execution proceedings units."

As we recall, the "units" are trying to prevent the properties of farmers in debt from being auctioned. For example, in June, nine "Self-Defense" activists forced a corn grower from the village of Strzelce Male (Leszno Voivodship) to abandon a covered market stall that he had bought at an auction from a court executive officer. At the beginning of August, "Self-Defense" members together with workers from the Babin State Farm (Lublin Voivodship) that has been closed down, harvested wheat grown in fields that already belonged to private tenants.

Waldemar Smardzewski, a department director in the Prosecutor's Office, told us yesterday: "We have a full list of the activities of the 'Self-Defense' movement. Their escalation could result in measures being taken that will regulate the behavior of the 'Self-Defense' movement in accordance with the law or lead to the halting of its activities."

Let us recall that the "Self-Defense" trade union came into existence in November of last year. In June of this year, a political party was registered under the name of the Self-Defense Alliance.

In accordance with the law on political parties, "Self-Defense," as a political party, could be outlawed for "the use of force." The minister of justice would then file such an application to the Constitutional Tribunal that can make the decision to outlaw the party and strike it off the register.

However, a district court may decide on whether to outlaw "Self-Defense" as a trade union. If it ascertains that this union is conducting activities that are incompatible with the law on trade unions, it will give it two weeks to bring itself into line with the law. If this is not done, the court can impose a fine on the union and set a date for the election of new union leaders. If this does not bring results, following an application from the minister of justice, the court can rule to have the union struck off the register. On implementation of the court ruling, the union must halt its activities.

Let us recall that the "Self-Defense" movement is currently participating in the National Inter-Union Strike Negotiating Committee that is calling for rail strikes and protest actions.

Government Wants System To Monitor UN Sanctions
*AU2408103292 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Aug 92 p 2*

["W.A." report: "Romania Trying to Achieve Harmony With the International Community of States"]

[Text] Bucharest, 23 August—Through the use of international observers, Romania wants to establish a control system for monitoring the economic sanctions imposed against Serbia and Montenegro by the United Nations. According to Romanian Foreign Minister Nastase, this will refute the suspicion that Bucharest is not adhering to the embargo, but is continuing to trade with neighboring Serbia. Experts from Great Britain, which is currently chairing the EC and has, therefore, been asked by the Romanian Government to send these observers, reportedly did not have any objections with regard to the observance of sanctions by Bucharest. Romanian Transportation Minister Basescu previously had confirmed that "dozens of ships" from the former Soviet Union are passing Galati on the Danube in the direction of the Serbian port of Pancevo. Romania cannot make any checks, however, because the Danube is an international waterway, he added.

In an interview with this newspaper, Foreign Minister Nastase justified the readiness to use observers from other countries to monitor the embargo in Romania by pointing out that Bucharest is "learning quickly" now. During the Gulf war his country was unfairly accused of not adhering to the UN sanctions, even though it had cut off all economic relations with Iraq and had incurred losses of about \$3 billion as a result. The losses included \$1.7 billion that Baghdad still has not paid to Romania. Further losses of at least \$500 million will threaten the country by the end of the year because of the embargo against Serbia, Nastase added, referring to the fact that a chemical combine in the western Romanian town of Timisoara lost the Serbian part of the Banat region as a market and that a large pig-breeding farm in the same area can no longer buy fodder from Serbia. At no time, then or now, has Romania received any compensation; thus far, it has waited in vain for Western support in its economic misery. Foreign loans granted to the country have not amounted to more than \$2 billion over the past two years.

Asked about his assessment of the military conflicts in the now disintegrated Yugoslavia, the Romanian foreign minister said that his country is "categorically against ethnic cleansing," since this runs counter to human rights, to democratic development in Europe, and to the CSCE Helsinki Final Act. Romania is "not much suited" to determine or attribute guilt in this murderous war, however, Nastase added in consideration of the traditionally close relations between Romanians and Serbs. Bucharest is striving for a speedy lifting of sanctions by participating in efforts to abolish the reason for these measures. His government is less interested in a "condemnation" than in channeling the development into a

"positive direction," particularly since Romania, which has recognized all Yugoslav successor states apart from Macedonia, has to coexist with these peoples in the next century. His country is maintaining an "equal distance" with all parties involved and is doing so with the goal of not blocking the path to close regional cooperation. Even though Nastase came out against solutions in the southern Balkans that "cannot" be reconciled "with international rules and the principles of a democratic society," at the same time, referring to the forthcoming London crisis conference, he warned against "pushing Serbia's back to the wall and giving it the feeling that it is at war with all of Europe and the world." This is "not a constructive path toward making progress," the foreign minister noted, confirming Romania's ambivalent attitude as regards the devastating war in its neighborhood.

Ministry Reiterates Strict Observance of Embargo
*AU2208191092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1714 GMT 22 Aug 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/8/1992—Though having no evidence, without any investigation, and ignoring the remarks made by third, objective, and impartial persons, mass media and even officials in some countries continue to make references to Romania's alleged violations of the UN Security Council's provisions regarding the application of sanctions against Yugoslavia, shows a press release of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania.

The press release specifies that, in the context of the Romanian Government's concerns to help a political settlement of the conflict in Yugoslavia, Romania has steadily backed the international community in reestablishing peace in that area. Romania has always observed and observes the UN Security Council's Resolution Number 713 of 25 September 1991, referring to the institution of the embargo on the delivery of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia, as well as of the Resolution Number 757 of 30 May 1992, which sets economic sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Along this line, the Romanian Government started operating the mechanisms required for the application and observance of the above mentioned military and economic embargoes. On 20 August 1992 the Romanian Government approved, in a special resolution, of detailed instructions for the application of the sanctions meant to consolidate the mechanisms of strictly respecting them.

Starting from the fact that Romania has nothing to hide, and from its genuine wish and firm determination to comply with the UN Security Council's resolutions, the Romanian Government showed its readiness to cooperate with the international bodies and the states interested in assisting this country in applying the said sanctions. It invited all the countries participating in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council to nominate their observers at checkpoints in Romanian ports and airports

to see whether the sanctions were applied or not. They are to start working in Romania for that in the near future.

Falling within the same context was the visit of a EEC expert team between 15 and 18 August. They made investigations at checkpoints and Danubian ports, and assessed the Romanian authorities' activity as being positive.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania shows its conviction that the Romanian attitude and actions as mentioned above are enough evidence for it to show this country is a reliable partner in the international community's efforts toward consolidating world lawfulness and guaranteeing political stability and peace in the area and in Europe as a whole.

Iliescu Officially Registers Candidacy for President

*AU2208143892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0803 GMT 22 Aug 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/8/1992—In a statement to the press after he officially placed his candidacy for Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu showed that his being the first official candidate for that office was, above all, the merit of the ones who supported him and collected signatures for that. So, he said, we are the first who tabled the documents required for registration for the office of country's president. I should like to reiterate what I have said from the very beginning, that I enter this race not for my own benefit, since I do it as my duty prompts me. There have also been questions about possible alternatives, there were some who advised me not to commit myself to such a race. I have done enough and I can be satisfied with what I did and leave others continue it. More particularly that we enter a difficult stage which entails responsibilities, even risks and, therefore, this might also be a variant. I want to say that I have not excluded such an alternative, but I have had the feeling—and the contacts I have had in the last few months with a large category of citizens stimulated me along this line as they requested me and convinced me—that I need to continue this race. Certainly, the electorate will judge first and foremost which one of the candidates could meet better the citizens' demands, aspirations, and feelings. I know we are going through a difficult period, it is not going to be easy at all, and I think all categories of citizens, all political forces, and all the creative forces of this country should bring their capacities and efforts into concert. That is why I should like the election campaign to be governed rather by the major problems facing Romanian society nowadays, than by tendencies which have already occurred and led to the election contest turning into personal attacks and attempts to discredit and libel countercandidates. Constructive political and social forces should be able to conjugate their efforts so as to surmount the difficulties in store for us, and jointly work out a national strategy for political stability, for the stability of the economic

and social life against an as natural as possible background. We should make our people's creative power more efficient and provide for Romania's decent standing in international relations. I think this is the fundamental credo of a candidate at the oncoming elections.

Iliescu Encounter With Journalist Described

*AU1708202592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1749 GMT 17 Aug 92*

[Text] Bucharest Rompres 17/8/1992—A ROMPRES correspondent who last Saturday [12 August] happened to be close to the place where the reported and much controversial incident between President Iliescu and a journalist from the "TELEGRAF" took place, describes the episode as follows: "The group of demonstrators was relatively small. Some were booing, whistling and calling names. Others were applauding the president. President Iliescu while giving the impression he was about to get into the car, turned to the group of demonstrators, obviously shocked by the manner in which some of them were addressing him, and made for their group probably with the intention to talk with them. The one he tried to speak to was a Mr. Pirvu, journalist of the local "TELEGRAF" daily. There was absolutely no aggressive gesture on the part of the president. For a moment there was quiet, enough to hear fragments of the president's question "Why are you booing?" "By what rights, sir?" and parts of the answer "I'm a citizen...," "Because I want to boo...," "In the name of the dead in December...," after which the president continued the programme of his visit.

Paper Protests TV Coverage

*AU2208175292 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 19 Aug 92 p 3*

[Constanta daily: "TELEGRAF's Legitimate Protest!"]

[Text] Following the communique issued by President Ion Iliescu's press bureau through ROMPRES and the transmission by the main television station of certain clips filmed in the afternoon on 15 August 1992 in front of the Constanta Prefect's office, we feel we have to provide a few details.

The communique affirms that the discussion between the president and our journalist was as follows: "The president stopped and asked how the position of journalist goes with the disqualifying attitude he was taking." The clips presented on television clearly prove that the discussion was not about this subject. The clip that has been presented actually commits a sin by avoiding the truth, in the sense that it did not contain the following images:

- From the point of view of sound—the booing of a group of demonstrators;
- From a visual point of view—Mr. Ion Iliescu, irritated, leaving the automobile and insulting ("you

animal") and attacking our colleague and, after the president left—not even four seconds later, desperate screams by the journalist, who was already being hit by the president's guards, as were other colleagues who were close by.

Thus we note—not for the first time either—that whenever in difficulty, those in power make use of truncated truths and try to distort incontestable realities to benefit their own image. We are asking ourselves, who is the author of this incident if not Mr. Ion Iliescu himself? In actual fact, had the automobile convoy continued along its road, and had the president not left his car, nothing would have happened.

Thus the entire blame rests on President Ion Iliescu, not on us! For this reason, there is nothing to be done for us aside from protesting in our paper with its small number of issues, overwhelmingly small in comparison with the clips broadcast by the main television station.

PNT-cd Calls For Questioning

*AU2208204092 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 18 Aug 92 p 1*

[Statement signed by the leadership and the parliamentary group of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party; place and date not given: "Will the President Be Summoned To Provide Explanations in Parliament?"]

[Text] President Ion Iliescu's outburst in Constanta, where, on 15 August, he insulted several citizens who were chanting anti-president slogans in front of the prefect's office, and the attack against a representative of the local press are the subject of protests by the Journalists' Association of Romania and grounds for concern for the Romanian and foreign public.

On the basis of Article 95 of the Romanian Constitution, the president's serious actions must be examined by the Constitutional Court and submitted for debate to Parliament, which could even decide to release him from office.

A proposal for release from office can be initiated by at least one-third of the deputies and senators, and the president can "provide explanations in connection with the acts of which he is accused."

Discussing the accusations against the president and the effect that such behavior might have on the country's prestige, the leadership of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] and the parliamentary group of this party suggest that the president should be summoned to Parliament and provide the explanations expected by the entire public.

The PNT-cd leadership

The PNT-cd parliamentary group

FSN Supports PNT-cd Proposal

*AU2208204892 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 18 Aug 92 p 1*

[Vera Maria Neagu article | Supports the PNT-cd Proposal]

[Text] If it is confirmed that the Constanta incident is real, the National Salvation Front [FSN] agrees with and supports the measures included in the law that are meant to defend democracy in Romania. We will support the proposal advanced by the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], even if it is directed against the president of Romania, said FSN spokesman, Deputy Adrian Vilau. As a matter of fact, said Mr. Vilau, the president's action has not come as a particular surprise because actions against the press by him or his messengers have taken place before. In this respect, the FSN spokesman recalled the draft law that originated from the presidency, in which the reintroduction of censorship of the press was suggested. He also recalled the position of Senator Ion Solcan (Democratic National Salvation Front), who requested that during Free Europe and BBC programs on electoral subjects be prohibited during the electoral campaign. As a personal action, through which President Iliescu tried to intimidate the press, we could cite as an example the actions taken against journalist Sorin Rosca Stanescu.

Karadzic Discusses London Talks Prior To Departure

LD2108183892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 August (TANJUG)—At the international conference in London, representatives of the Serb Republic will advocate a confederal Bosnia-Herzegovina because this system would eliminate domination of one nation over others, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, stated at a news conference in the international press center in Belgrade today.

Despite the war experience, the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina believe in the possibility of a confederal state of the three constitutive nations, Karadzic added.

On the eve of his departure for London, he assessed that a precondition for successful negotiations is the equal treatment of all parties without prejudice and without imposing a solution.

Advocating a fresh approach by the participants in the London talks, which implies recognition of the right to self-determination of all nations, Karadzic pointed out that the London conference could mark the end of the Balkan crisis.

In London, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs will present a document whereby the Serbian Republic accepts the formation with the other two national communities of a community of states of Bosnia-Herzegovina within the present external borders.

According to this document, they will accept that the territorial issues be settled within the framework of the conference initiated by the EC, but excluding possible territorial aims of the neighboring countries.

Karadzic went on to say the Serbian side will propose an absolute cease-fire and the signing of a cease-fire agreement under the auspices of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the signing of an agreement on the safe return of refugees, and free movement of civilians—which will fully guarantee human and property rights—as well as urgent bilateral and trilateral talks between representatives of the three national communities on these issues.

Representatives of the Serb Republic will on their part enable free movement of humanitarian convoys in all directions and guarantee their safe passage through the Serbian territories.

Karadzic informed journalists that at the London talks the Serbian delegation will present their readiness to prevent ethnic cleansing and will open an investigation into all cases of suspected expulsion of civilians, punishing those responsible. Finally, the Serbian side is ready to exchange all POW's on the basis of the "all for all" principle and abolish prisons, Karadzic said. [passage omitted]

Asked whether he had allowed ethnic cleansing, especially considering that he was going to London with the

intention of halting this practice, Karadzic said that he never supported this. On the contrary, he tried to ensure that refugees could return to their homes. He stressed that the Serbian side is against any forced transfer of population, adding that a difference should be made between ethnic refugees and ethnic hostages. According to him, there are about 350,000 Serbian refugees in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a large number of Serbs who are being held hostage in Sarajevo.

Asked under what conditions Serbs would remove barricades around Sarajevo, Bihac, and some other places, Karadzic said Bihac is not under Serbian domination, but the left bank of the river Una is under their control.

Asked about safe passage of convoys, Karadzic went on to say that both humanitarian and economic ones could pass freely, on the condition that they do not carry war materiel. The Serb Army and police guarantee free passage of civilians. Karadzic added that when a lasting peace is reached, blockades will be lifted on all roads. He specified that the Serb side is already doing this, but not the Muslim.

Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina are holding between 5-6,000 prisoners, and they earlier had about 8,000, Karadzic replied when asked whether American estimate of 170,000 prisoners was correct. He also denied that readiness to exchange prisoners on the basis of the all for all principle was some kind of blackmail by the Serbian side before the London conference.

Asked why current readiness for an absolute cease-fire should be taken seriously when there were many previous unsuccessful cease-fire agreements, Karadzic recalled that the Serbian side offered, signed, and observed many cease-fires, while the other side signed only two or three. According to him, the majority of these agreements were in fact unilateral.

He also recalled that Croatia had signed 17 cease-fire agreements with the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], and that only one has lasted.

America was against the dissolution of Yugoslavia, but now it accepted it. America's support for a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina does not mean anything if Bosnia-Herzegovina does not have the support of the people living in it, was Karadzic's comment on Silajdzic's statement that he had received assurances from acting U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger that the United States would not support a Bosnia divided into cantons.

The delegation of Bosnian Serbs in London will accept the good offices of the European Community because its starting principles—contained in the Brioni declaration—are good, stressed Karadzic. These principles guarantee the right of a nation to self-determination, but the EC later imposed solutions that could not be accepted, he added. Karadzic said Ambassador Cutileiro's team worked successfully and believed that some kind of a solution would be found in London after

all. Failing that, Karadzic warned, there could be no way in which the Serbian representatives would accept a solution that would negate the interests of the Serbian nation.

Asked whether the attitude of Serbs in Serbia and the attitude of their leadership toward their brothers in Bosnia-Herzegovina was negative, since they were exposed to strong condemnation on the part of the international public, Karadzic replied that the Bosnian Serbs have not had the support of the Serbian Government for a long time and that they were not expecting it either. He pointed out the strict control on the border between the Serb Republic of Bosnia and Serbia, while the border between Herzegovina and Croatia was completely open. As far as support from the Serbian people in Serbia was concerned, he was well aware of what was happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina—that the Serbs had lost the war for the media—said Karadzic, adding that “presenting a one-sided picture of Bosnia-Herzegovina could be considered to be to the credit of some media.”

Ten million Serbs will strongly react to any attempt to condemn them should this happen at the London conference, warned Karadzic. [passage omitted]

We are prepared to withdraw from some parts of the territory we are holding, but only if an agreement on lasting peace is reached, stressed Karadzic. He added, however, that there can be no agreement on the territories that are unarguably Serbian. He concluded by saying that it is not the territories, but human rights, freedom, and national integrity that are the primary source of concern for the Serbs.

Karadzic Views 'German Bloc' Plans for Conference

AU2208163292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Text] During his brief visit to Trsic, near Loznica, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, commented on events happening before the London conference. Here is a report by Vladimir Mitric, Loznica Radio journalist:

[Begin recording] [Mitric] Events before the London conference are mostly significant and important and are characterized by an attempt at [word indistinct] (?frightening) Serbs and exerting pressure over Serbs with a view to making them accept something that they in fact must not accept. The conference itself is going to be one of the historic meetings of the Western alliance which (?serves) them to do their jobs, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, told journalists in Trsic near Loznica, birthplace of [19-century Serbian educator] Vuk Karadzic. Further on, Karadzic pointed out the following:

[Karadzic] This [words indistinct] between the Berlin Congress [held in 1878, after the Russian-Turkish war] and the London conference. Namely, the German bloc in

Europe, which is trying to get revenge on the Serbian people for failures in two world wars, is trying to reduce Serbia into [word indistinct] of the Berlin Congress when it did not have Vojvodina, (?Sandzak), and Kosovo.

Our people who believe and claim that the world is against us because we are Bolsheviks, because we are cruel warriors, or because we have prisons for prisoners of war are very much wrong. These are stories, only a propaganda guise hiding the essence. That essence is that the one who is stronger introduces (?the law of the stronger) and [words indistinct] alliance, because the Serbs are not a submissive people, a people who would accept a vassal position, or a people who can be easily manipulated. [end recording]

Presidency, Government Adopt Platform for Talks

LD2208205392 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Excerpts] A joint session of the Bosnian Presidency and Government was held today in the presence of representatives of parliamentary parties. The session was in effect a meeting of the Bosnian parliament. During the session, standpoints were adopted for the platform of the Bosnian-Herzegovinan delegation at the upcoming Conference on Yugoslavia in London. [passage omitted]

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency has decided that I should head the Bosnian-Herzegovina delegation at this conference and that the delegation members should be: Mile Akmadzic, general secretary of the Presidency; Haris Silajdzic, minister of foreign affairs; and Nikola Kovac, minister of education, that is, a four-member delegation. Three experts in various fields are travelling to London with the official delegation: Messrs Ante Markotic, Dragoljub Stojanov, and Hasim Trnka. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Izetbegovic said: Our delegation must have a [clear] stand on the organization of the Bosnian-Herzegovinan state because, as some foreign nationals have said, there will be an answer to the question of whether there will be stability or not in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this respect, it was stressed that Bosnia-Herzegovina would be a decentralized state with developed regional and local self-administration, in which the citizen would be sovereign and the nations equal. It should be explained in London that ethnic communities have never existed as constitutional categories and that the territorial division into national cantons is impossible. The equality of nations will be ensured by a bicameral assembly and authorities which will have equal powers at the level of republic. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic on Bosnia's Strategy for Conference

LD2308151192 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 92

[Report on news conference given by Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic by Dzevdet Tuzlic at the Sarajevo International Press Center on 23 August]

[Text] A large number of domestic and foreign journalists attended today's news conference. For this news program, I selected a question I asked President Izetbegovic concerning the strategy of Bosnia-Herzegovina's appearance at the London Conference on Yugoslavia and President Izetbegovic's expectations.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Above all we will once again try to inform the world public, the responsible persons in the world, about the events in Bosnia. We will once again repeat some sad facts that are going on here. We will also present the concept of the future constitutional arrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We will again stress that we want a democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina which is based on the sovereignty of its citizens and the equality of its nations. We do not want any kind of a unitary state or any kind of an ideological state, neither a communist nor an Islamic state.

As far as ensuring the equality of the nations is concerned, we will offer two instruments. The first is the House of Nations as the second house in parliament, where all the decisions will be passed only with a consensus, which of course implies the right of veto. The other instrument is a tribunal for human and national rights, which will be composed of our lawyers and lawyers from Europe. This tribunal will inspect the implementation of the Constitution and the respecting of human and national rights on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

These two instruments would prevent outvoting by the representatives of the most numerous nation, that is, the transformation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a national state of its most numerous nation. They will also prevent the creation of an ideological state and the adoption of decisions that do not suit all of the three nations, and the tribunal would ensure respect for human and national rights.

We will also present our views concerning the problems of former Yugoslavia, stressing that this Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Cosic's Yugoslavia, cannot directly succeed the old Yugoslavia. If it wants to become a member of the international community it has to go through all those tests of the Badinter commission which we passed, which Croatia and Slovenia also passed—the tests concerning respect for human and national rights. We will also support the standpoints of the Badinter commission regarding succession. [end recording]

President Calls on CSCE Countries To Send Troops

LD2108215892 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 2100 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Jozef Moravcik, chairman of the CSCE Council of Ministers and Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, has held talks with Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Sarajevo.

The Bosnian president expressed doubts about the success of diplomatic talks and a solution of the Yugoslav conflict without the withdrawal of heavy weapons from the Republic. At the same time, he called on the CSCE countries to follow France, Great Britain, and Italy and provide military units to secure humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Jozef Moravcik said that in the case of Czechoslovakia a decision about the deployment of troops must be made by the government. However, personally he does not see any obstacles to this.

Prlic 'Ridicules' Izetbegovic London Platform

LD2308153192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 23 Aug 92

[Text] Pale, 23 August (TANJUG)—The delegation from Bosnia-Herzegovina to the London Conference on Yugoslavia will be headed by Alija Izetbegovic, leader of the Muslims and president of the rump Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

As Sarajevo radio reported, the delegation will also comprise Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, Presidency Secretary Mile Akmadzic, and government member Nikola Kovac.

In addition to them, the delegation will comprise three experts: Ante Markotic, a demographer, and economists Dragoljub Stojanov and Kasim Trnka.

At today's news conference in Sarajevo, Izetbegovic said that the delegation has prepared a political platform which insists on an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state of citizens and equal nations.

"We do not want a unitarian or ideological state, neither communist nor Islamic," Izetbegovic said.

The platform was prepared by a special group of the rump Presidency and the government, and it completely rejects the Lisbon agreement as the basis for the future constitutional setup of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was explained that the Lisbon agreement would mean internal division of Bosnia-Herzegovina according to ethnic principles, and the betrayal of its interests.

In this connection, Jadranko Prlic, prime minister of Herceg-Bosnia, said that Croat representatives holding positions in the top Sarajevo authorities, such as Kljuic, Pelivan, and Jerko Doko, cannot represent Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina at the London conference because they do not represent their authentic interests, i.e., they are not the legitimate representatives of the Croatian nation.

Prlic described Izetbegovic's platform as ridiculous because it envisages the regionalization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. For example, it envisages that one region, along with purely Croatian municipalities, comprises the municipalities of Bileca, Gacko and Nevesinje, which are purely Serbian. Prlic says that such a proposal is

ridiculous and that the only solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina is the creation of three constituent national communities.

Prljic's remarks refer to the so-called "Bosnian faction" among Croats, which is "loyal" to the Sarajevo authorities, as opposed to the faction supporting Mate Boban, president of Herceg-Bosna.

The Sarajevo authorities have neither military nor political control over Herceg-Bosna or the Serb Republic, the national communities of Croats and Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In their first reactions, Serbian media in Bosnia-Herzegovina indicate that Izetbegovic used the old communist formula of brotherhood and unity—prepared according to the Titoist recipe—and formed a delegation of "loyal Serbs and Croats." That is why his delegation, as it is stressed, consists of third-rate politicians.

Serbs Consider 'Unitaristic Bosnia' Unacceptable

AU2308204792 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 23 Aug 92

[Interview with Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Serb Republic Assembly, by Milenko Ilic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Ilic] It appears that a large part of the London conference will be dedicated to the attempts by the world to resolve the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. Here, on the battlefields, the warring sides have already prepared their stances. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency yesterday reported that it had compiled a platform with which Alija Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina] will travel to London. [passage omitted]

[Krajisnik] We cannot make sacrifices, we cannot capitulate, we cannot place ourselves and this nation of ours in a situation where we would return to the initial positions—or to say more clearly, to advocate a sort of unitaristic Bosnia or accept to be a second-class nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We accept peace, we accept that Bosnia be transformed into a confederal community of states of the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats. We will advocate that all three ethnic communities get their states, and intimately we are opposed to Bosnia being divided in two....

[Ilic] If the conference nevertheless departs from an ultimatum which would be unacceptable for the Serbs in Bosnia, and bearing in mind that you are nearly threatened every day with a possibility of a military intervention, what are the options?

[Krajisnik] We shall do everything we can to avoid the conflict; we shall do everything we can to avoid the intervention. I have stated at the beginning, however, what we cannot accept. We cannot accept that the Serbian nation be enslaved and returned into a sort of Islamic-Muslim state. We cannot allow this nation and

the sacrifices that were made to be wasted. The Serbian nation simply wants freedom and an equal position with the other two nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We believe we have a moral, legal and any other right to this. I believe that as soon as we have the moral right (?we will find the strength) to insist upon it.

UN Envoy Visits Camps; Serbs Bar Journalists

LD2308183992 Warsaw TVP Television First
Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 23 Aug 92

[Excerpt] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who as the UN special envoy is examining cases of transgression of human rights on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, today visited Serb camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He visited the largest camp in this territory in Manjaca. He was also in Banja Luka, which is controlled by Serbian forces.

[Reporter] Along the 200 km route, we were protected by UN forces comprising seven vehicles, including three armored ones. The convoy reached the Bosnian border without much difficulty. A few days earlier, two Canadian soldiers in this area hit a mine; one was killed and the other injured. The French who escorted us warned that the final section of the route, just before Banja Luka, in territory controlled by the Serbs, would be more dangerous. Unfortunately, we did not get there. We were not allowed in. On the far side of the Sava, which until a few months ago constituted the border between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serbs have created their autonomous area. They also control the border. When the head of the convoy appeared on the bridge, first they demanded a change in the escort. They did not like the armed UN soldiers. Later, when this condition was fulfilled, it transpired that journalists too were undesirable. Even the UN television crew were turned back to Croatia. The Croatian number-plates of the car hired by the Polish Wiadomosci television team were suddenly torn off. We were threatened with confiscation of our equipment. All the pictures at the border were thus taken with a concealed camera.

Meanwhile, 60 km further on, in Bosanski Brod, there was fighting. The Serbian artillery bombarded the periphery of the town for over an hour. Despite numerous attempts, the bridge on the Sava linking [word indistinct] with Croatia was not [word indistinct]. When we reached the spot, only individual shots could be heard. An hour earlier, many of these houses still stood. The town has been being bombarded almost without a break for many months. There are thus few inhabitants, and most of them are young people in uniform, many of them drunk. [passage omitted]

Muslim Official Notes Turkey Ignores Arms Demand

LD2208133992 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1057 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Text] Ankara, Aug 22 (TANJUG)—Ejup Ganic, a leader of Bosnia-Herzegovina Moslems, said on Saturday [22 August] Turkish authorities had still not replied to their demand for assistance in arms.

Speaking for the GUMHURIYET daily, Ganic said Ankara was still reluctant to grant the demand made by Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic because "Turkish ministers have focused on a political settlement on the Bosnia-Herzegovina problem."

"The world has realized that Bosnia-Herzegovina needs arms, and we will obtain them even if it means going to the black market," he said. Asked whether the tension between Bosnian Moslems and Croats could transform into a war, Ganic replied "No" and added that the problem would be solved "in political talks."

Moslem and Croat forces in the war-battered former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are often quarreling over territory and booty, but their dispute boils down to disagreement over the republic's future organization.

The majority Moslems, who account for 44 per cent of the population, want a unitary state, while the other two peoples—Serbs (32.5 per cent) and Croats (17 per cent)—insist on cantonization of the Republic along ethnic lines.

Islamic Aid Group Protests Croat Harrassment

LD2208213192 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Text] The main executive committee of the World Islamic Organization for Humanitarian Aid [Ighathah] today issued a statement to inform the public that two of its high officials from Zagreb have been arrested and held for many hours by the representatives of the Croatian Defense Force [HVO] in Kiseljak. The humanitarian aid of Ighathah and the personal belongings of its officials was seized and it still has not been returned. Yesterday, HVO members again held up, abused, and maltreated two members of Ighathah's committee for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their personal belongings and seals of some of Ighathah's offices for Bosnia-Herzegovina were seized.

The statement warns the domestic and international public about the frequency of such activities of HVO in the municipalities of Novi Travnik, Vitez, Busovaca, and Kiseljak in particular. [passage indistinct]

Serbs Give Up Prison Camp to Red Cross

AU2208192292 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Text] According to an announcement by Prijedor authorities, the Omarska Investigation Center was disbanded today and the Trnopolje Open Camp given over to the jurisdiction of the Red Cross in conformity with a decision of the Serb Republic. By doing so, the Serbian side has once again demonstrated readiness for cooperation with international institutions in connection with the peaceful and just solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Omarska Investigation Center and the Trnopolje Open Camp were visited by teams of foreign journalists today.

Muslims Block Red Cross Aid to Gorazde

LD2208220292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1624 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, August 22 (TANJUG)—The Red Cross of Yugoslavia was unable to deliver humanitarian aid to the inhabitants of Gorazde, a town in eastern Bosnia which has been sealed off for several months, since the Muslim forces in the town do not want to communicate with representatives of the convoy.

"The convoy of aid intended for the inhabitants of Gorazde, guaranteed safe passage by Serbs from Bosnia, reached the village of Mesici, but could not go further because communication could not be established with the Muslim side," said a statement issued by the Red Cross of Yugoslavia.

The statement said the aid was returned to the nearest safe point and left there since the Red Cross of Yugoslavia will try to deliver aid to Gorazde in the next few days, as soon as safety conditions permit.

The statement also said the Red Cross of Yugoslavia managed to deliver 35 tonnes of food and medicine to the inhabitants of Sarajevo, the capital of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Muslim-Croatian forces, helped by the Army of neighbouring Croatia, have been fighting against local Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina for over four months. Fighting broke out since the three Bosnian nations—Muslims (44 percent), Serbs (32 percent) and Croats (17 percent)—could not agree on the Republic's future order.

Government Calls For Vojvodina Croats in London

LD2208201892 Zagreb HTV Television
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Text] Before the London conference which is to start on Wednesday, 26 August, diplomatic activities and statements are increasingly frequent, which—considering the course of events on the territory of former Yugoslavia—looks like a game of chess.

For exactly that reason, the authorized representative [in Great Britain] of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Drago Stambuk, sent a request to British Prime Minister John Major, chairman of the London conference, on behalf of the Croatian Government asking for the participation of representatives of Croats in Vojvodina, who have for a long time suffered the consequences of the Greater Serbian policy of ethnic cleansing, which results in their exodus and the abuse of human and national rights.

On behalf of the Croatian Government, Dr. Stambuk insists that the decision on the participation of representatives of Vojvodina Croats—Bela Tonkovic, Josip Gabric, and Ivan Poljakovic—in the London conference be reconsidered, even more so because Croatia and its neighboring countries are supporting their participation.

Foreign Minister on 'United Front' With Hungary

LD2208214192 Zagreb HTV Television
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Text] After yesterday's visit to Denmark, Dr. Zdenko Skrabalo, Croatia minister of foreign affairs, held talks with his Hungarian counterpart at which they discussed the forthcoming London conference.

The talks between the foreign ministers of Hungary and Croatia were held today on Lake Balaton in Hungary. Mr. Skrabalo and Mr. Geza Jeszenszky held one in a series of consultation talks on the eve of the London conference to be held on 26 August.

[Begin recording] [Skrabalo] In the framework of the preparations for the London conference, we have intended—and are now doing so—to visit various, especially friendly countries, and we are especially glad to be in friendly Hungary today, with my friend Mr. Jeszenszky. We have exchanged opinions, and if I may say so, have adopted a certain strategy and tactics as to how to present a united front at the London conference, and we understood each other completely; There is not a single issue on which Croatia and Hungary have different stands, so that we hope that with joint efforts we will achieve a certain success with the aim to stop this terrible aggression, and [to alleviate] the suffering of, if you like, both the Croatian and the Hungarian nations, because we know very well that as Croats have suffered, especially in eastern Slavonia and Baranja, so have Hungarians.

[Correspondent] I suppose you discussed the refugees accommodated in Hungary?

[Skrabalo] Right! Hungary is at the top of the list of the countries which have helped Croatia. They have taken in the largest number of refugees, and we are deeply grateful to Hungary for all the assistance it has provided.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Government Seeks Help With Refugees at Conference

AU2408080892 Paris AFP in English 0717 GMT
24 Aug 92

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 24 (AFP)—Croatia, burdened with 700,000 refugees and with more than a fifth of its territory occupied by armed Serbs, will go to the London Yugoslavia peace talks to plead for both help and tougher action against Serbia, Croatian officials said.

President Franjo Tudjman, bolstered by his victory in recent elections is impatient for a showdown with his Serbian arch foe and counterpart Slobodan Milosevic although analysts here already predict the talks will end in deadlock.

Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Vanja Moric said that unless the conference were able to secure a rapid ceasefire in Bosnia-Herzegovina, "Croatia will campaign for limited international military strikes on Serbian artillery positions and airports including Belgrade."

In addition to 300,000 Croats forced out of areas of Croatia now controlled by Serbian forces backed by the federal army, Moric said ethnic purges in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina had caused 332,000 civilians mainly Muslims to cross into Croatia.

About a hundred thousand more refugees had still not been registered, she said.

The influx was "the equivalent of eight million refugees suddenly flooding into France or 30 million into the United States," said Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic.

Croatia, which was recognised as an independent state only in January, has 4.7 million inhabitants and is unable to cope "politically, economically or socially" with the pressures imposed upon it, Granic said.

He said Croatia had "still not received a cent in aid from the international community" to deal with the refugee problem.

While Croatia had not given up the idea of restoring its historic borders, the Foreign Ministry spokeswoman said the government would be "patient" until the expiry of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) mandate next May.

"But Croatia wants UNPROFOR to ensure and guarantee the return of the refugees to their homes, particularly with the approach of winter," she said.

"For our part, we are ready to let the Serbs return to their homes," said Granic, while noting that around 2,000

Croats had been driven from their homes in the past two months in so-called "pink" zones held by Serbs but placed under U.N. control.

The pink zones represent about four percent of Croatia.

"We have accepted all the conditions of the international community, the (Cyrus) Vance plan, the (Robert) Badinter report, the Hague accords, the Brussels ones, the law on minorities," Granic said.

But he added that Croatians, though they were still keen on becoming part of Western Europe, were growing "ever more" wary of international authorities and the European Community particularly.

He noted that the federal army had still not withdrawn from Dubrovnik, nor the Serbs from pink zones, while Slavonski Brod on the Bosnian border was still being shelled by Serbian artillery.

Zagreb meanwhile was being dragged into an arbitration role between Croats and Muslims and even between Croatians themselves in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said.

Serb Krajina To Send Delegation To London Talks

*LD2008171292 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1338 GMT 20 Aug 92*

[Text] Knin, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Serb Krajina Goran Hadzic said on Thursday [20 August] that its delegation would leave for London to take part in the international Conference on Yugoslavia.

"We shall take this opportunity so that Europe and the world may understand and adequately evaluate us," Hadzic told TANJUG.

Lord Peter Carrington has invited a delegation of the Republic of Serb Krajina to attend the conference scheduled for August 26 through 28.

The Republic of Serb Krajina was created late last year in the areas within the administrative borders of Croatia where Serbs constitute a majority, as a reaction to Croatia's violent secession from Yugoslavia and attempt to reduce Serbs to an ethnic minority. All that triggered an escalation of fighting in Croatia after which U.N. peacekeepers were deployed in the Republic of Serb Krajina.

On the republic's platform for the conference, Hadzic said, "we advocate the positions and opinion of the people who has twice democratically expressed its will not to live in Croatia. If necessary, let the people their will for a third time," he said.

CSCE Group Leaves for Sarajevo; Boban Comments

*LD2108111292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Text] A CSCE delegation, headed by Josef Moravcik, minister of foreign affairs of the Czech Lands and Slovakia, has left for Sarajevo from Zagreb airport aboard a UN Protection Force aircraft. At Zagreb airport, the CSCE representatives met Mate Boban, president of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna. Following his talks with the CSCE delegation, Boban said: We are willing to negotiate with anyone in the world in order to establish peace and to enable the Croatian people to have the rights to which they are entitled, just like any other people.

Asked about his opinion on the cantonization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said that he is of the opinion that this word has been abused. We want Bosnia-Herzegovina as an independent country and the Croatian people within it to be sovereign and equal in their rights in relation to the other two peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, Boban said.

Mazowiecki Arrives in Zagreb on UN Mission

*LD2108192292 Warsaw TVP Television First
Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Text] Good evening. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the UN special envoy for investigating violations of human rights in the former Yugoslavia, has reached Zagreb. During his mission, which is to last several days, he will also visit Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. He will gather information about torture, ethnic cleansing, and other war crimes. Tadeusz Mazowiecki is accompanied by our special correspondent.

[Begin recording] [Mazowiecki] I would like to examine objectively the situation on all sides of the conflict. In this short time, I shall be concentrating in particular on the situation in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I would also ask that I be allowed to work so that I may bring this report into being. Taking a stand that might constitute an assessment will—on my part—only be possible at the end of my task.

[Unidentified reporter] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who this afternoon arrived in Zagreb from Geneva, said that he wanted to visit Polish soldiers in Croatia. [end recording]

Yugoslav Army Withdrawal From Dubrovnik 'Imminent'

*LD2108174392 Zagreb HTV Television
in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Text] We have succeeded in agreeing with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the EC about the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from the southern part of Dubrovnik municipality, including Prevlaka. Their final departure is imminent; it is now a question of days—not months and weeks—until this part of

southern Croatia, including Prevlaka, will be entirely free. This was stated by Corps General Anton Tus, chief of the Croatian Army general staff, who was in Dubrovnik today. He inspected the units and command of the Croatian Army and held talks with the president of the executive committee of the Dubrovnik municipality, Zeljko Sikic, HINA reports.

General Tus also spoke about the Slavonski Brod battlefield. He stressed that the local HVO [Bosnian-Croatian Army] and Croatian Army stationed near the border established a bridgehead to prevent even greater destruction in this area. If we had allowed the Serbs to come nearer to Slavonski Brod and Zupanja this would be even more dangerous. Parts of Djakovo and Nasice would also be in danger. This is a question of the defense of the Republic of Croatia because Croatia is defended not only at its borders, but also in the security areas so that Croatia is not exposed to destruction, Corps General Tus said during today's visit to Dubrovnik.

Serbian Krajina Head: 'We Are Against The War'

AU2308193892 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 23 Aug 92

[Interview with Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, by Miroslav Pusic in the Novi Sad television studio—live]

[Text] [Pusic] Mr. Hadzic, what will be the stance of the delegation of the Serbian Republic at the conference in London?

[Hadzic] Our stance is clear. We will primarily seek observation of a nation's right to self-determination. I hope that the London conference will start on a sound basis—that is to say, that things will be put equally in their place. If we discuss the past—in our former talks and contacts with the EC representatives, we were told that the Serbs are very much burdened by the past; if we depart from the past, we are willing to talk in this way as well prior to Yugoslavia's disintegration when the Serbian nation was a constituent element of the Yugoslav state—that is to say, of the former Republic of Croatia; therefore, we can negotiate in this context as well. If we discuss the present—the present times in Serbian Krajina—we are willing to negotiate here.

It is also our stance that we are open to talks, negotiations, and agreements. We are against the war; we are the first to be opposed to the war and to advocate negotiations.

[Pusic] Thank you, Mr. Hadzic

[Hadzic] Thank you!

Serb Republic Suspends State Security Service

LD2308180892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 23 Aug 92

[Excerpts] Knin, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—The work of the Krajina state security service has been temporarily suspended by a decision of the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Legal actions are being taken against perpetrators, and measures are being taken to remove from the police and its special units all persons who do not fulfill conditions for employment in the Internal Affairs Ministry. This is stressed in today's extensive statement of the Krajina Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The complexity of the current situation caused by military, political, and economic pressures was noted in the statement. At the same time, propaganda has been intensified with the aim of discrediting combatant leaders, the current government, and the Assembly and the Serbian Krajina Republic president. Such propaganda and rumors, as well as provocations, are used in order to prove "that the right Serbs are not in the Republic of Serbian Krajina's top echelon, that the right Serbs have been suspended, and that it is necessary to carry out radical changes in order to appoint the right people to the positions they deserve," the statement goes on to say. [passage omitted]

In its statement, the Krajina Ministry of Internal Affairs says that it has never concealed or justified certain weaknesses among its employees, and calls to account those who overstepped their authority by entering apartments without a warrant or by committing other actions liable to punishment.

After analyzing certain negative events, especially in Korenica and Knin in recent days, the statement of the Krajina Internal Affairs Ministry goes on to say that "it is obvious that there have been attempts to cause a split in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, between the Internal Affairs Secretariat and police special units, and thus seriously harm the Republic of Serbian Krajina's defense system."

The Krajina Ministry of Internal Affairs reiterates in the statement its well-known stand that it will not accept any kind of special status for Krajina within Croatia.

Prisoner Release Discussed With Krajina Police

LD2108130492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in English 1205 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Croatian Defense Council authorities for the Bosanska Posavina region met with representatives of the so-called Krajina Police Force on the main highway near Nova Gradiska.

The two sides discussed the exchange of civilian and military prisoners. It was decided that all men under the age of 18 and over the age of 55 would be released immediately and unconditionally from Serbian prison

camps. The Serbian authorities also promised that all women being held would be released regardless of their age.

Greguric-Panic Budapest Meeting Discussed

92BA1322B Zagreb NOV1 VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
7 Aug 92 p 2

[Article by Vlado Rajic: "Greguric-Panic"]

[Text] The meeting in Budapest between Dr. Franjo Greguric, prime minister of internationally recognized Croatia, and Milan Panic, prime minister of the coalition of the Serbian and Montenegrin government administrations, known by the name of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is among those moves of the Croatian state meant to prove its persistence (any contact is better—regardless of the uncertainty about the honesty of the other side—than continuing the operations of the war), its consistency (direct dialogue with the adversary as a method of international approach instead of diplomatic courting on behalf of one's own option), and its acceptance of the internal risks that such meetings evoke on the political scene here. In the case of the Greguric-Panic meeting, they are augmented by the fact that even talking to Panic signifies a certain recognition of his legitimacy as a negotiator, and indirectly the authenticity of his office as prime minister, and finally of the state that he heads.

That risk, however, also encompasses a change in the attitude of Croatian policy toward what is happening within the borders of the other and former Yugoslav republics. Croatian experiences since May 1990 can be defended precisely if possible disagreements with the processes in those communities are not used as an argument in favor of Croatian political calculation. If Serbia and Montenegro want the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], let them have it. If they want Panic for a prime minister by agreement, they have him. To be sure, under today's circumstances the "FRY," Serbia and Montenegro, are aggressors against Croatian state territory, and that is why it is understandable that the Croatian Government is interested in even the slightest possibility of establishing contacts that could completely eliminate the war and the horror of war from the territory of its jurisdiction. Because Milan Panic has been authorized "there" for negotiations, because negotiations, regardless of all else, remain a constant in the Croatian conception of how to solve the problems, it is logical to accept the invitation to Budapest.

If the attempt with Panic fails, as previous ones have failed with Milosevic, Croatian diplomacy is handed a serious argument to disqualify the prime minister as an individual, his role in the Balkans, and the political credit which he has in leading the "FRY." Therefore, agreeing to talk to him is an excellent occasion for the Croatian side to switch from its defensive diplomatic position of incessantly proving Belgrade's falsehoods, falsifications, and various perfidies into an active creator

of its own destiny that will impose on the aggressor the pace of the facts instead of the pace of deception in which the facts are relativized.

Founder of Constabulary Comments on Losses

92BA1318B Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA
in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 92 p 14

[Article including discussion with Ivan Krmpotic, former Croatian secret police chief and founder of the constabulary, by Sanja Modric in Zagreb; date not given: "I Weep for My Hawks"—first two paragraphs are SLOBODNA DALMACIJA introduction]

[Text] Ivan Krmpotic, the ill-fated chief of the Croatian secret police and founder of the constabulary, talks to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

The beginning of August marks the second anniversary of the founding of the constabulary in the new Croatian state. Of my 2,500 young constables, scarcely 700 are alive today. How can I help but cry? The tragedy of this state is that it is led by former colonels in the UDBA [State Security Administration], misfits, and war profiteers.

The man is actually weeping. He wipes his eyes with his sleeve and glances at the adjacent tables at Zagreb's "Argentina," checking whether anyone sitting with their cappuccinos has noticed his loss of self-control.

"How can I help but cry when scarcely 700 of my 2,500 young constables are alive today? Josip Jovic, my hawk from Arzan, was the first to die at chetnik hands. And then the funerals came one after another. They sent the boys out against professional murderers, untrained, without instruction, and they fell in Borovo Selo, in Plitvice, throughout Slavonia.... And I was the one who brought them to the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. I believed in this Tudjman as in myself, but he, like Tito, loves power to an amazing degree."

Ivan Krmpotic feels a need to speak. We met at the election headquarters of the Croatian Democratic Party. "Are you from SLOBODNA?" he asks. "I'm not very good at this sort of thing, for the newspaper.... But I'll tell you my story, if you like. For five days, I was the head of the Croatian secret police and Boljkovac's deputy. Then they sent me to set up the Croatian constabulary. After the barricades in Knin, I quarreled with Manolic and resigned. Now, I am once again a retiree, which is what I was when we founded the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], meeting secretly to plan the destruction of Yugoslavia, and dreaming about a free Croatia. I left the HDZ because I was feeling nauseated and it was moving towards Marko Veselica. The beginning of August marks the second anniversary of the founding of the constabulary in the new Croatian state. I feel responsible for those young people, even though no one asked me about anything when Manolic and Boljkovac decided to roll the dice with their lives. So please listen to me," Krmpotic says.

UDBA as Fate

He tells how during the 1960's he worked for the Zagreb police as an ordinary patrolman even though he had a high school diploma, while "Serbs with two years of elementary school were the bosses." At the time, he told his colleagues in the SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] that he would not write in Cyrillic, and they called him an Ustasha. When Prof. Ljudevit Jonke was attacked in 1969 because of his position on language, he had to be given police protection, and since "Savka insisted that his guard be a Croat," this job was given to Krmpotic. Because of this, on the police force they accused him: "You are Jonke's guard, a bloody Ustasha who is against Yugoslavia and Serbs." After this, Krmpotic, by his own account, completed police school in Skopje, the only of its kind in the former SFRY, and then law school.

In early 1973, he was sent to teach criminology and information systems at the RSUP [Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs] school in Zagreb, on Simunska Ulica. As always, he was suspect, and in 1971 [as published], Krmpotic went "into hiding."

"I hung around neither here nor there. There was a time when you did not whisper or rustle because they would carry you off [word unclear]."

At the school, he was elected to the self-management workers control board ("Perhaps they saw that I was honest"). Since major investments were under way at the time for rebuilding the school, large-scale pilfering began to take place, Krmpotic alleges. The school cost 20 million dinars at the time, while the damage that arose during construction amounted to 25 million dinars(!?). He says that there were 10 people involved: Zlatko Uzelać, the minister of police, Ante Pedisic, the under secretary and head of the school on Simunska, Ante Troskot, the head of food services, Josip Granceski, the director of construction, Andrija Mustac, the director of economics for the RSUP in Sesvete, and several others. The workers control board, under Krmpotic, wrote up a report. The inspectors from the Public Auditing Service, Krmpotic recalls, determined a level of illegal behavior of 94 percent. But UDBA decided that the matter should be hushed up.

"They came and ransacked my apartment," Krmpotic says, "and they framed me by saying that I was in league with Ustashi emigres because they found a small, ordinary Croatian coat of arms in one of my daughter's books. They arrested me and took me to the prison in Zrinjevac, and all the institutions of the SUP in Croatia were sent a notice to the effect that I was a registered Croatian nationalist, linked with a so-called foreign element, and thus unsuitable for police work. They also deleted my military record."

Krmpotic then initiated litigation against his "firm," and after four years the Supreme Court finally ruled in his favor ("I was the first policeman to win a trial against 'Them'"). In the meantime, they had removed his father

from office, a former Partisan who had been chairman of the veterans organization in his native Senj ("because both he and his son are Ustashi"). In 1982, Krmpotic was permitted to go back to school, but "there I found the same people whom I had been fighting during my case, so I asked them to retire me." In this way, Krmpotic became a pensioner at age 40.

Vindictive Manolic

"When the winds of democracy began to blow," Krmpotic says, "I started meeting with Manolic, Ciro Grubisic, Ante Matkovic, and others. Through my former students, I was able to give the founding nucleus of the HDZ information about the situation in the police, the burning of military records, and movements by the armed forces. Manolic wanted me to organize insurance for Tudjman. When we won the elections, they immediately ordered me to be Boljkovac's deputy in the MUP and head of the Service for Protection of the Constitutional Order. I had already been with the outgoing minister, Vilim Mulic, concerning the assumption of my new duties. After five days, at 1300 on 30 May, Manolic called me: 'Look, old man, don't be mad, but you have to give up the post of chief of secret police to Peric Juric.'"

"I saw that I had been tricked," says Krmpotic, "but Juric probably had to be paid for the BMW that he brought for Tudjman from Germany. Otherwise, he has no connections with the job, nor any schooling, even though he is continually written about as if he is a law school graduate. I have been told that even the Church agitated on Juric's behalf because it needed someone whom it could manipulate."

Krmpotic was immediately given another job. Manolic and Tudjman asked him to form the constabulary of the MUP of Croatia. They suggested, he says, that he not do this through the police, but rather exclusively through the chapters of the HDZ.

"For 15 days, I gathered 2,500 boys from all over Croatia in this way, and training was due to begin on 5 August. The boys' units were upright Croats guaranteed by the HDZ, but there were also some Serbs, Muslims, and Albanians. It was a pleasure to watch them, so young and spirited. They started to call me to the MUP board continually. They asked me for advice, but very soon the problems began," says Krmpotic.

When the trouble in Knin began, Krmpotic's opinion was also requested.

"I told them that they should set up barricades in front of Knin and block supplies, while at the same time working politically to iron out the excesses. They said that that was stupid. They then decided to send in those two helicopters. That was Boljkovac's and Juric's idea. I told them that this was utter nonsense, because they would not make it far beyond Karlovac. I warned them that the armed forces could kill our people. But I was sorriest about those two gazelles, the only ones that we had there. Manolic became incensed that I dared to oppose him."

Krmpotic maintains that Manolic is unprofessional, vindictive, too old, and vain. Anyone who crosses him must pay for it, but, nevertheless, he went for one more meeting with him.

"I told him that he was not right," says Krmpotic, "and he told me, 'You will not preach to me!' He really dressed me down, and I got mad and asked to be relieved of my duties. Anyway, I had had enough of the former UDBA figures such as Zdravko Mustac, Josip Perkovic, and Vugrinec, people who had come to the service after the Croatian spring to lock up our democrats, and who were once again in charge. When Boljkovac heard that I wanted to leave, he told me to calm down and work at some other post. I agreed to stay only until the end of 1990. Some people advised me to wait for Manolic's wrath to pass, but I know that he is full of hatred that never passes. Then I left the Croatian Democratic Community as well. They also refused to give me a certificate confirming my departure from the party, even though my case had been discussed by the Municipal Committee of the HDZ."

Ljubica Solaja on the Phone

"Manolic called me about coming back a month and a half ago, but I refused. Never again with Bolsheviks! If they were at least communists, then they could still be honest people, but they are ordinary, corrupt profiteers who work exclusively for their personal advantage," says Krmpotic.

"The head of the young constables, instead of me, was Marko Lukic, my former student, a Croat who changed his Croatian surname out of self-interest, from Krizic to Lukic, and went to the military academy in Belgrade where he signed up to work for the KOS [Counterintelligence Service]," says Krmpotic. "One day, after things had started heating up at Plitvice, I got a phone call from Ljubica Solaja of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party]. I knew her from before because her cousin, Stevo Solaja, had worked with me at Simunska and had gotten burned with me as a member of that ill-fated workers control board. An honest person. Ljubica told me that she had heard that we were sending people to Plitvice. 'Don't do

that, because we will kill them. Do something, if you can, to keep them from being sent,' she told me. At that time, I no longer had any ties with the MUP, but immediately I went to Ivan Vekic. I asked Solaja where she got her information, and she told me, 'From your deputy, Lukic.'"

Krmpotic told Vekic about this conversation, and according to Krmpotic, Vekic went to see Tudjman. But Tudjman listened to the story—and dismissed it.

"That is why Vekic was not chosen minister of police the first time. He was mad as hell at me. Afterwards, I learned once again through my connections that Tudjman would be met in Cetinje only by policemen, instead of journalists. Do you remember that press conference? Again I notified Vekic. He went to warn Tudjman, but again the old man sent him packing. Vekic was furious, screaming and swearing, but it turned out that my warning was appropriate. There was one other time when I sent Tudjman a warning. It was several weeks ago, when I learned that an attempt on Tudjman's life was being planned. I told this to crazy Vrdoljak, but I did not want to tell him what all was involved. I simply let Tudjman know that he should get rid of the people guarding him. I saw that afterwards Marko Lukic was returned to the MUP, and the old man apparently took the matter seriously, because the assassination plans were even mentioned on HTV [Croatian Television].

"In closing, I want to tell you that the tragedy of this state is that it is led by former colonels in the UDBA, misfits, and war profiteers," says Krmpotic. "Manolic, who back in 1945 had the same rank as Aleksandar Rankovic; Boljkovac, who works only for the money; Lukic, a Kosovan; Mustac, who was deputy to Petar Gracanin and head of the UDBA.... Tudjman depends on them. They keep him in a stalemate, but he likes power so much that he will sacrifice everything to hold onto it. The poor man, he lost the war because he did what they told him to. But who had the right to destroy Croatian youth, the best Croatian boys? Their graves have filled this land. I cannot sleep because even today I hear their voices."

Federal

Prime Minister Addresses Joint Assembly Session

*AU2108124192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0915 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Speech by Prime Minister Milan Panic at a joint session of both chambers of the FRY Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, deputies: In the government program I submitted to this high house on 14 July, which was adopted, I stressed that the new government would concentrate most of its activities on returning and strengthening international respect for Yugoslavia and in creating the conditions for lifting the UN sanctions. I stressed that I would personally devote 80 percent of my time to such activities. Today I can tell you that the past month has been spent in such devoted activities as strengthening peace and the international position of our country.

These must be the wrong glasses. [laughter] [words indistinct]

Today, I can tell you that the past month has been spent in such devoted activities as strengthening peace and the international position of our country. In this short time, I have visited 16 countries and have met over 50 eminent world figures, including five heads of state, nine prime ministers, and ten foreign ministers.

I have had talks with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, Under-secretaries Petrovskiy, Goulding, and (?Layerson), with three representatives in the Security Council, and most of the other ambassadors in the Council.

Lord Carrington has been one of my partners in the talks, and so have Cyrus Vance, Samaruga, president of the International Red Cross, and many others. I have spoken to over 50 ambassadors.

I have told all of them that we value peace and justice more than anybody else. Anybody. There is nothing we would not do for peace and the lifting of the sanctions against our country—obviously, if the efforts aimed at solving the crisis in Yugoslavia are based on the accepted principles of international cooperation.

What are the results of one month of work, and what were we able to tell our partners? The results are really impressive. Our team has worked very, very, very hard, and travelled a lot. In accordance with the requirements of UN Resolutions 752 and 757, we have already complied with the following conditions:

1. There is not one single soldier from the Yugoslav Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This has also been confirmed by UN commander General Nambiar.
2. We have condemned in the strongest possible terms any practice of ethnic cleansing, and are preventing it

from take place wherever we have the authority to do so. This government is opposed to any practice of ethnic cleansing.

3. We have officially proclaimed our guarantees that Yugoslavia will not intervene militarily in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

4. We have announced our decision on recognizing Bosnia-Herzegovina within its old republican borders. I usually call them Tito's borders. I have a very important reason for calling them Tito's borders. Not because I like that name, but because I have a reason, a legal reason.

In the letter from the president of the UN Security Council to the Chinese ambassador, sent on 17 August, I expressed my readiness to recognize Croatia within Tito's borders. [sentence as heard] This, of course, does not prejudice the obligations that Croatia has taken on regarding the republic of Serbian Krajina in accordance with Vance's plan on behalf of the UN.

6. [no point five as heard] We recognized Slovenia on 13 August.

7. We are ready to recognize Macedonia, under certain conditions. The international community, I am convinced, will appreciate the responsibility of those who do not accept reciprocity in this process of recognition. I am sure that you have heard the reaction of the Slovene Government, and you have heard my reaction to their reaction.

8. We have offered our assurances, and various evidence that Yugoslavia is not providing any of the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina with arms.

9. I signed an agreement with Croatia in Budapest on ... release and exchange of all war criminals, criminals [Panic repeats himself; indistinct murmuring heard nearby]. Unfortunately, these crimes have happened. Prisoners: The exchange has been completed. The question of criminals has been discussed extensively. You have to understand that. That is probably why it came to mind now.

10. Yugoslavia is prepared to support immediately an international investigation into the violation of human rights in the republics of the former Yugoslavia. We will prosecute any Yugoslav citizen for whom there is evidence that they are involved in any act of ethnic cleansing.

11. Yugoslavia and its government sincerely advocate full respect for the rights of ethnic minorities and human rights as in any other law-governed state, the kind of state that we are creating by developing a democratic system. As far as I know, we are the first country in Europe and the world to set up a ministry for human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities.

Kosovo, the Sandzak, and Vojvodina are of course our internal issues. We guarantee—and I will offer this in London—that we will not allow Kosovo to become what

Bosnia-Herzegovina is today. The whole world must understand this. I will do everything for every Yugoslav citizen who happens to be Albanian or a member of another ethnic minority, as well as all Yugoslav citizens, so that my government, and I personally, answer for them.

Ladies, gentlemen, and deputies, and through you the whole of our public and the international public; I am convinced that the life of a single one of our Albanian citizens is more important to me than all the books and theories that have been written about human rights.

We are working... [pauses] We agree to everyone seeing for themselves on the spot the extent to which we are ready to create the highest level of rights for members of the ethnic minorities, in conformity with the obligations in the charters of the UN and the CSCE. We also invite them to come and see.

Having too many of them is not good. One day we could have more inspectors than Albanians. But not one mission that comes on behalf of the CSCE or any humanitarian organization must foment unrest and deepen interethnic tension. If attention is not paid to this, then they will be directly responsible for all the serious consequences of such behavior. I am sure that all delegations know our government's positions.

Ladies, gentlemen, and deputies; at a time when preparations are hurriedly being made for the London Conference on Yugoslavia under the joint chairmanship of UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali and the British minister Douglas Hurd, the chair of the Council of Ministers of the European Union, many difficulties are yet to be found on our road, even though this is the road of peace, of recognition of reality, and a hand outstretched for wide peaceful cooperation. I am sure that the whole world has heard my position.

Our government and our state are for peace. We are peace-loving people. We can say that we are even one of the most peace-loving peoples.

The international community has leveled many reproaches at Yugoslavia, but my government and I personally do not look at the upcoming London meeting as a place of further conflict and confrontation. We see this meeting as the first opportunity to put forward the full truth about the active and peace-loving policy that our government has been conducting since the first day of its creation and the day it received the confidence of this high house. We expect that the London conference will be a real turning point in the peaceful political resolution of the problems that have caused war conflicts and civil war on this territory.

The civil war, the clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the increase in the already high number of refugees—Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and others—worry not only the UN, EC, CSCE, and other international forums and bodies, but the behavior of all of us here. Why? Because the speech of the English representative in the UN,

which lasted 20 minutes, was highly acclaimed because they have 1,000 of our refugees. We in Yugoslavia have more than 500,000 refugees. If they were given 10 minutes, we should be given 500 times that at this conference. Naturally, everything is not theoretically (?perfect) yet.

I wish to tell the world and the general public that such scenes of war, destruction of property, inhumane treatment of human beings of various nationalities, and denominations perhaps upset my government the most. As you know, this government immediately put forward the securing of peace on the entire territory of the present and former Yugoslavia as its prime objective. This peace means mutual recognition of all states of the former Yugoslavia based on the principles of international law. In the case of Croatia, this includes firm assurances that Cyrus Vance's plan be fully observed and fully realized.

I firmly believe that the ample evidence of our willingness to strive for the triumph of peace and peaceful cooperation will have a powerful effect at the forthcoming London conference. I am convinced that, by listening to this speech, they will change their speeches.

We do not want to perceive this conference merely as an attempt to put Yugoslavia and the peace-loving policies of my government on trial, as this would be contrary to the interests of all of us—not only Yugoslavia but the entire world. Our peace-loving policies present numerous opportunities to strengthen cooperation, end the war, and resolve the painful problem of the refugees—500,000 of whom have already sought temporary shelter on Yugoslav territory.

Those who want to try to use pressure only to endanger our country and the fate of our residents—regardless of what nationality or origin they might be—are not able to offer an acceptable solution to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina or a solution to the problem of refugees returning to their homes. A threat of war can never strengthen the prospects for peace in the Balkans.

At the coming London conference, the Yugoslav Government will reiterate its adherence to the principles on the basis of which the [word indistinct] Conference on Yugoslavia, under the chairmanship of Lord Carrington, was held last September. This conference did not always adhere to all the principles on the basis of which it had been called. Among these principles I would like to single out a few: Non-use of force to change borders, the right to self-determination, equality of all participants, and equal treatment of all proposed options. Among its original principles, Carrington's Conference on Yugoslavia also contained the principle that separate states will not be recognized individually, temporarily, or before it is appropriate, but only once the solution to the problems in the entire former Yugoslavia is found. Unfortunately this did not happen.

On the eve of the London conference we have every right to expect that its participants—who must not be guided by the wish for revenge and reprisal but by the principles

of concern for peace, equality, and respect for human rights—will display full understanding for the expressed wish of the two republics—Montenegro and Serbia—to continue living in a common state of Yugoslavia.

I have already let it be known that the conduct of Yugoslavia's foreign policy is the responsibility of my government and of myself as prime minister. Nobody else can speak with more authority than me or my government on behalf of Yugoslavia on occasions when Yugoslavia is represented internationally.

I would also like to stress that Yugoslavia and its government do not question the right of the new states appearing on the territory of the former Yugoslavia to exist and to maintain membership in international organizations. Yugoslavia has confirmed this in practice. Yugoslavia did not oppose, for example, Croatia's admission to the UN and CSCE. Yugoslavia is ready for open talks on the division of assets and liabilities. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not have any pretensions to being the only and exclusive legal heir to Yugoslavia.

Despite our extraordinarily dynamic international activities and being almost on the eve of the London conference, we are unfortunately still in extreme isolation from the rest of the international community. We are living under the burden of strict sanctions, and we believe that next week and the course of the London conference will prove that our country is contributing to a deep and democratic transformation of our country, to peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and all other parts of the former Yugoslavia where peace could be endangered. They will produce, I hope, important results. How could such positions not affect the democratic international community and the policies of democratic governments in the international organizations, our offers to the UN to supervise the borders of Yugoslavia with Bosnia-Herzegovina, and all military airports, which they are doing already, and bases on Yugoslav territory. [sentence as heard]

We are offering, and are willing to guarantee an open land corridor between Belgrade and Sarajevo for the delivery of humanitarian aid. The big problem facing the UN and all [word indistinct] strengthening of the sanctions is the possibility of delivering humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sarajevo. To that end, we have offered a land corridor from Belgrade to Sarajevo, and we guarantee use of the Belgrade airport, the Belgrade port, and the road from Belgrade to Sarajevo.

Yugoslavia has offered to help in the exchange of prisoners of war among the three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the principle of all for all, and to solve the problem of the so-called concentration camps in one stroke.

My government expects the London conference to support a solution to Bosnia-Herzegovina on the one possible principle of a negotiated political solution involving all three ethnic groups. We are ready, and we

certify that we have already used our political and moral influence in winning over the Serbs in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to give their assurances of their readiness, for a peaceful and negotiated solution and not a solution through warfare.

13. [no point 12 as heard] We are striving to provide all refugees in Yugoslavia and other refugees with the maximum degree of humane treatment and to create conditions for them to return to their homes as soon as possible. In our view, there is no fairer solution for the refugees than having guarantees for unhindered occupation of the homes from which they have been driven by the horrors of war. I believe that this is the world's solution, the best solution.

14. Yugoslavia has proposed, and I now repeat and confirm this, that all camps should be closed, all prisons in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that the UN directly supervise all refugee camps.

As you can see, this government wastes no time. Our position at the forthcoming London conference will not be what it would have been if that conference had been held a month ago. We believe that the continuous development of a democratic system in Yugoslavia will contribute to an improved understanding and the possibility of serious talks in London and subsequent continuation of the conference.

Regarding domestic affairs, my government is consistently striving for the strengthening of the market economy, privatization, and democratization. We also favor faster development of democracy in the entire political and social system. What can be accomplished in 30 days?

1. Early elections at all new... [pauses] Will be held before the end of this year. Electoral and other laws will be formulated and prepared in cooperation with the experts of the CSCE and the Council of Europe so that no one can question whether the elections are democratic or not. Early elections... [pauses]

2. A preelection roundtable has been scheduled with representatives of all political parties. I am seriously asking all parties to take part in these roundtable talks as this is the best way to resolve potential future problems.

We are in the middle of a process of taking rigorous measures against any sort of arbitrary behavior by individuals and groups in Yugoslavia. Conditions have been created for the strict observation of the principles of the rule of law and a law-governed state in accordance with contemporary European standards. This also includes the process of the independent activity of the mass media, press, and the freedom of the press.

5. [no numbers three of four as heard] Yugoslavia feels it has an obligation and is honestly striving to apply the highest democratic standards of the CSCE and Europe and the international legal instruments of the U.N.

6. We have established dialogue between the federal and republic governments and the representatives of the ethnic minorities and made this a standard practice. We reaffirm our public call for a meeting to be held in Belgrade between the representatives of the Yugoslav Government and the representatives of the Albanian ethnic minority in Kosovo, from Kosovo. Greece or another EC member can attend as an observer.

I can assure you that we will not spare any effort in further striving for the triumph of peace and democracy, for a better understanding of our country in the democratic world, and the abolition of sanctions and other (?punitive) measures against us.

Ladies and gentlemen, deputies, I would like to assure you that nothing will divert me or my government from this path or diminish our determination to eliminate all remaining obstacles and problems on the way to democratization, the lifting of the sanctions, and privatization and the new market economy of Yugoslavia. Thank you very much! [applause]

Panic 'Optimistic' Before Leaving for London

*LD2308193792 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1833 GMT 23 Aug 92*

[“Pool” item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic said on Sunday [23 August] that he was going to the London Conference on Yugoslavia with the burning desire for peace to be established in the areas of former Yugoslavia.

If the other side wants it, there will be peace, Panic told a news conference before leaving for London.

Panic said he was moderately optimistic about the outcome of the London Conference because he was worried whether the others too were willing peace as much as representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) made up of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

He said he was against a foreign military intervention in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina ridden by civil war. He said he was for the full demilitarization of this republic and for a build-up of peacekeepers.

He held that all should take over responsibility for the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina because, as he put it, this was not the problem of Serbs, Moslems and Croats alone, but of the whole world, probably [words indistinct].

Panic admitted he was somewhat afraid of the possible “trial of Yugoslavia in London” and added that he would not defend it because we as well as the world knew who was to be blamed.

He said he would see to it that the conference would be aimed as much as possible at the future.

The Yugoslav delegation would do its utmost for the truth about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina to establish itself in the world, Panic said when asked whether he would seek at the United Nations a confirmation of what the newspaper Independent published on Saturday concerning crimes rigged by the Moslem side for its foreign propaganda purposes. The paper asserted that politicians in Washington had also been informed about this.

Panic said that the truth about these crimes would become a document that would show who was guilty and who was innocent.

In London, as he said, Panic would largely reiterate the stand he had presented also in his letter to the president of the U.N. Security Council.

This letter said that the F.R.Y. was prepared to recognize all the ex-Yugoslav Republics within their administrative boundaries of former Yugoslavia.

Every Yugoslav of Albanian origin has the same rights as any other Yugoslav and if the laws threaten any Yugoslav citizen, I shall work on repealing such laws immediately, said Panic to the questions about an alleged threat to ethnic Albanians in the Serbian Province of Kosovo.

Panic recalled the formal abolition last week of the special measures imposed on Kosovo three years earlier.

Said he: In Kosovo, there is peace. Lives are not lost there. If you do not stop talking about Kosovo, we might perhaps have Bosnia there.

Panic announced that the Yugoslav delegation in London would have talks with Kosovo representatives and invite them to participate in the country's political system.

In Kosovo, ethnic Albanians have three years boycotted political life of Serbia and Yugoslavia, seeking the status of a Republic of Kosovo and its merger with Albania.

Panic Letter on Conference Passed to PRC Official

*LD2208120192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0826 GMT 22 Aug 92*

[Text] Beijing, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—Milan Panic, prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) has sent a message to Chinese Premier Li Peng informing him about the Yugoslav stands on the eve of the forthcoming conference in London, at which China, as a permanent UN Security Council member, will be also present.

FRY Ambassador to Beijing, Ilija Djukic, today handed the message to assistant foreign minister of China Dai Bingguo.

The message explains the activities of the Yugoslav Government aimed at establishing peace in the former Yugoslavia.

During talks with the Chinese official, Ambassador Djukic explained in particular the individual issues that will be on the agenda at the London conference.

Both sides concluded that the cessation of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is an important precondition for a political settlement of the crisis and an overall solution to the problems in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. China underlines the importance of "respect for all the participants" at the conference in London, which should be an important step toward establishing a permanent, just and realistic solution to the crisis.

The Chinese assistant minister said that the Chinese delegation will act from precisely those positions at the London conference.

Assembly 'Conclusions' on London Talks Viewed

*LD2108195192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—At the first regular joint session of the Citizens' Chamber and the Chamber of Republics this evening, and following a discussion on the international situation and the position of our country, the Federal Assembly adopted conclusions in connection with the London Conference on Yugoslavia.

The full text of the conclusions reads:

The Federal Assembly of the FRY wishes to inform the London conference that it is sending a single delegation of the FRY to attend the conference. The delegation will include: Dobrica Cosic, president of the FRY and head of the delegation; and delegation members Milan Panic, president of the Federal Government; Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia; and Momir Bulatovic, president of the Republic of Montenegro.

The basic document which the Federal Assembly of the FRY has proposed to the FRY delegation during the discussion about the London conference is a constitutional declaration, previously adopted by the parliaments of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro and later by the federal parliament.

The federal parliament singles out the following from the adopted political platform:

1. The Federal Assembly of the FRY instructs the [FRY] delegation to insist on the continuity of Yugoslavia which has never been interrupted despite the fact that four republics seceded from the SFRY.

2. The FRY is in favor of a peaceful political solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, based on the tripartite consensus of the three constituent nations. In this respect the FRY is prepared to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, subject to an agreement on [Bosnia's] borders.

3. The FRY is prepared to recognize the Republic of Croatia within the borders which are not under

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] protection. As far as the territory under UNPROFOR protection is concerned, the FRY will accept whichever political solution is reached with the consent of the Serbian people in the Krajinas.

4. The FRY Assembly maintains that the question of Kosovo and Metohija is an internal matter for the Republic of Serbia which is meeting all UN and CSCE standards concerning the rights of national minorities and is prepared to supply the UN and the CSCE with every proof regarding Kosovo and Metohija and elsewhere.

5. The Federal Assembly confirms that the FRY has no territorial claims on neighboring states. The Federal Assembly instructs the delegation to raise the issue of Prevlaka to which the Republic of Croatia is laying legally untenable claims.

6. The FRY Assembly draws the conclusion that the constitutional declaration of the FRY and the proposals which were derived from it form the basis for negotiations at the conference in London and that any major departure from the adopted political platform would have constitutional and legal consequences.

Foreign Minister Cites Expectations of Conference

*AU2208153292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 92*

[Text] In the "On the Spot" program that Belgrade Radio First Program carried this morning in which we talked about the forthcoming London peace conference on Yugoslavia, we also carried an interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, federal minister for foreign affairs. For the "News of the Day" program, we have selected the reply to the question asked by our journalist Dragan Colovic on what he expects of the London conference:

[Begin Jovanovic recording] The list of wishes is long, but we have to (?be modest) and calm the situation; we have to wait a bit more and see the offer to see the price demanded. Regarding the offer, there are some uncertainties for the time being: first, it is not clear, and, second, all these documents are kept in the pocket, as the moment of surprise seems to be important for [word indistinct] of these documents and, on the other hand, the announcements of pressures, threats, vengeance, and punishment fail to give much reason to believe that this conference will be spared such attempts.

However, I repeat, the presence of other representatives outside the EC and outside our close neighborhood offers good hope that conference may nevertheless free itself from the trials the conference on Yugoslavia experienced in its work to date, and may set off in a new, healthy, and correct (?direction). [end recording]

Church, Party Leaders Discuss London Conference

LD2408105892 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1005 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, August 24 (TANJUG)—Serbian Orthodox Church Patriarch Pavle said he expected the participants in the London conference to realize the complexity of the Yugoslav conflict since one-sidedness and exclusiveness were dangerous. Patriarch Pavle, nevertheless, wondered whether all participants in the conference would have the strength to completely grasp the situation.

Ahead of the London Conference on Yugoslavia on August 26, a number of officials and politicians set out their views and expectations.

Patriarch Pavle said Serbs and Montenegrins had the right to decide in what kind of a country they wanted to live and they chose Yugoslavia which existed and still exists despite the secession of some former republics.

On accusations against the Serbian people, Patriarch Pavle said that a nation could suffer for its sins, guilt and actions, but added there was also suffering without any guilt. Serbs are suffering without any guilt, Patriarch Pavle said.

He pointed out that Serbs are being accused of wanting a Greater Serbia, noting this was not true and that the Orthodox Church would not uphold this.

Dragoljub Micunovic, the president of the Democratic Party, said the conference in London should be attended by Serbian President Milosevic and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, besides Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic and President Dobrica Cosic, because otherwise it would mean a complete capitulation of Yugoslavia whose legitimacy has already been contested.

Speaking at a Democratic Party meeting in the village of Veliko Krckmare near Kragujeva, Micunovic said that, at the moment it was not important who was in power, but how Serbia and Yugoslavia would survive.

He said the Serbian authorities and opposition should join up to find the best way out of the crisis and prevent the war disaster since no goal is so important for houses to be burned and children killed.

The leader of the strongest Montenegrin opposition party, Novak Kilibarda, said that President Cosic should set out a "realistic package" in London and be prepared to trade.

Kilibarda said that a line had to be drawn at some point since the national pride and dignity of the Serbian people and state could not be brought into question.

Panic Expects Sanctions To Be Lifted in 2-3 Months

LD2208005792 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2334 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic said on Friday [21 August] evening he expected U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to be gradually lifted in two to three months' time.

Panic took part in a consultative meeting Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic held with academics on Friday.

Cosic informed the gathering that the federal government had decided that the Yugoslav delegation for the conference on Yugoslavia in London should besides himself, Panic and Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also include Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic and Montenegro's President Momir Bulatovic.

Cosic said the government had had to take into consideration demands for Milosevic and Bulatovic to take part in the conference.

Panic said at the meeting that the first "appeals to the U.N. for the abolition of the sanctions can be expected in two to three weeks' time."

He said the abolition of the sanctions could start with the lifting of the embargo on foreign trips and traffic links, followed by the oil embargo.

The prime minister expressed "reserved optimism" in regard to the course and outcome of the International Conference on Yugoslavia in London.

"We shall negotiate, we shall not yield our honour and pride, but we must bring peace," Panic said.

Announcing the participation of the Yugoslav delegation in the London meeting, Panic rejected the conviction that the whole world was against Yugoslavia.

"We placed ourselves in that position," he said, explaining: "politically, we now have no one on our side, and we ourselves are to blame for that." If we realize that, then we can solve the problems, he added.

Panic said the special status for the Krajina Serbs foreseen by Cyrus Vance's plan should be accepted, but with certain modalities.

The interests of the Serbs in the Krajinas cannot be defended by arms but by practical diplomacy, he said.

Recalling steps already taken and appropriate statements towards the fulfillment of conditions for the lifting of the sanctions, Panic said it was not the sanctions themselves that had to be resisted but the reasons for their imposition.

"Yugoslavia will be recognized, it's only a matter of time and manner, and it will not be difficult if we choose the right way," Panic said.

President Cosic said he shared Panic's views.

Panic Ready To Recognize Bosnia, Not Izetbegovic
*AU2408095192 Vienna DER STANDARD in German
24 Aug 92 p 2*

[APA report: "Panic: No Territorial Claims"]

[Text] The prime minister of what remains of Yugoslavia, Milan Panic, met U.S. senators for talks in Vienna on 23 August. The senators are to examine the effects of the UN embargo against Serbia and Montenegro. The meeting was held at Panic's request.

In a news conference, Panic reiterated that Yugoslavia does not have any territorial claims against Bosnia-Herzegovina. Under certain conditions, his country is ready to recognize Bosnia, but not the government of Alija Izetbegovic, who is "nothing but the leader of the Muslims." Belgrade guarantees the protection of humanitarian supply shipments; his government has offered the use of two airports in Serbia for this purpose.

Panic also promised that Yugoslavia will support the return of all refugees to their home countries. Yet, first of all, one has to create an "atmosphere of trust," Panic said. He vehemently denied the existence of concentration camps. "What we need is peace and not propaganda," he said in that connection.

In order to settle the conflict, Panic suggested calling in the Yugoslav Federal Army, which, along with Turkey, should effect the "complete demilitarization" of Bosnia. Panic clearly rejected military intervention.

Senator Mitchell was rather reserved after the talks. In his—strictly separate—news conference, the U.S. official emphasized that the United States will not recognize the "fruits of aggression."

Churkin Reiterates Russian Position on Crisis

*AU2108201092 Belgrade RTB Television Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Aug 92*

[Interview with Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, by Dusan Cukic in Belgrade—recorded]

[Text] [Cukic] How did the meetings end? Are you satisfied with your mission?

[Churkin] Yes. I had three interesting meetings today with Prime Minister Panic and Presidents Cosic and Milosevic. In a few minutes, we will be going to Montenegro to meet President Bulatovic. There are a lot of things to discuss. We are exchanging views on the upcoming conference in London. I think that it will be a significant stage in efforts to find a political solution to the crisis.

Russia wants a constructive role at the conference. We are consulting with all interested countries and in this

sense the arrival in Belgrade of the Russian president's special envoy confirms our full interest.

[Cukic] We also have a positive view of your mission, but we recall that here in Belgrade recently Foreign Minister Kozyrev also said the same thing. Now we read in the newspapers that he thinks differently.

[Churkin] Perhaps you sometimes do not properly interpret what is written in our newspapers or perhaps you do not read all our newspapers. The minister, as well as some of our other officials, have made numerous specific statements which relate to Yugoslavia. We have not only made statements on our position but we have actually put words into action on many occasions, for example, in the CSCE during the recent meeting of the Human Rights Committee in Geneva.

Our position is that the situation should be analyzed objectively and, in cooperation with all sides, everything should be done that is essential for finding a political solution. I want to assure you that this is the position of the highest leadership in our state and, of course, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

President Proposes Talks on Inter-State Ties

*LD2308172392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 23 Aug 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—FRY President Dobrica Cosic sent a message today to Macedonia President Kiro Gligorov, Croatia President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, and Slovenia President Milan Kucan. In his message, Cosic proposes the setting up of a joint committee for talks regarding the resolution of inter-state relations, economy, communications, citizenship, trade, social and other issues of vital importance for all citizens:

Dobrica Cosic's message reads:

By the proclamation of independence of your republic and by its separation from the Yugoslav federation, a number of questions of vital importance not only for our two state communities, but also for thousands of citizens, companies, and institutions on both sides have been opened. It is my profound conviction that it is in our mutual interest to avoid further confrontations and conflicts and to start direct talks and negotiations regarding the resolution of all these common problems.

In addition to questions on inter-state relations, economic cooperation, cooperation in the field of transport, communications including PTT, payment transactions, and so on, there also are unresolved problems that concern a vast number of people, our and your citizens, who expect us to finally resolve the problems of payment and transfer of their pensions and of securing their property rights and interests. For the benefit of the people who cannot be the victims of our separation, we should resolve all other questions, such as the issues of citizenship, domicile, the status of real estate, crossing of borders, etc. One of the important questions is the

distribution and division of rights and obligations ensuing from the international contracts. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, regarding the depositories and sides to the contracts, expresses its readiness to offer support in the realization of all legitimate rights and interests of your republic in the continuation of the contract relations on the basis of the most suitable modes. One of the conditions for this is the cessation of the media war.

To this effect, I am proposing the setting up of a joint committee which would start talks on all the aforementioned issues. I am leaving it to you to determine the level, time, and place of the first meetings. Many questions will certainly need prior contacts at the level of experts, but I am convinced that no level should be excluded if you agree to this.

Hoping that you will understand that the motives and the importance of this proposal are in our mutual interest and represent a way toward permanent normalization of our relations, I look forward to hearing from you, Dobrica Cosic's message concludes.

Army Chief Proposes Cooperation With Turkey

TA2408103292 Ankara ANATOLIA in English
1010 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 23 (A.A.)—Yugoslavia's chief of general staff said on Sunday [23 August] that his country wanted to cooperate with Turkey to stop the clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

General Zivota Panic told AA at his headquarters in Belgrade that he was willing to meet with his Turkish counterpart General Dogan Gures to discuss possible cooperation between Turkey and Yugoslavia for the strife-torn Bosnia.

Panic said the two countries could carry out cooperated actions and initiatives about Bosnia.

But he said Yugoslavia was opposing a potential military operation by Western troops to secure humanitarian aid corridors. Panic said in the event of an attack from these countries, Yugoslavia would help Serbia.

The commander also accused Bulgaria and Hungary of having designs on Yugoslav territory.

Panic commented on the Yugoslavia crisis that, Western countries, especially Germany, destroyed Yugoslavia. These western countries used people like the leaders of former Yugoslav republics to make their dreams come true, he said.

Panic said Yugoslav, Croatian and Turkish military could unite to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia and added he was awaiting an initiative from Turkey.

Sanctions Reduce Economy To 'State of Vegetation'

LD2408122192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1143 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Text] Made, August 24 (TANJUG)—The United Nations sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, imposed nearly three months ago, have reduced the country's economy to a state of vegetation, the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI said on Monday [24 August].

According to a poll carried by the Belgrade Institute for Market Research, there is not a single enterprise in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which does not envisage it will be without any export orders in the next three months.

Even if the blockade were lifted now, the drop in export deals would stop at around 40 percent below last year's level. If the sanctions continue in the fourth quarter, exports will be 70 to 80 percent lower than in 1991.

The situation is particularly difficult because the impoverished domestic market cannot absorb the goods intended for exports because the orders are mainly specialized and not in demand on the domestic market, as well as because of the declining purchasing power of the population.

The drop in the demand is nearly equal to the drop in real earnings which fell by 50 percent in the first quarter. The reasons for this are the absence of a macro-economic policy, the war and sky-high inflation.

The population of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia survives by spending foreign currency savings which were not deposited at state-owned banks.

The economic situation has lately been aggravated by the uncertain situation in agriculture. This year's wheat yield is far below expected. More maize and industrial crops have been sown than last year, but the drought in late July and early August has affected production.

The lists of firms which have completely or partially lost business due to the sanctions are getting longer.

The figure of around 270,000 workers who were made redundant by the end of March might soon be trebled.

Kosovo

Rugova Expects 'Understanding' at London Conference

AU2208135292 Tirana ATA in English 0817 GMT
22 Aug 92

[Text] Tirana, August 22 (ATA)—The ATA co-worker from Pristina reports:

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosovo and chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo, said at the regular press conference that these

days he had received the invitation from Lord Carrington to attend the conference of London. It is me and a delegation of ours that are invited there. But we are not satisfied with this invitation, because as the third people as for its number in ex-Yugoslavia, we deserve to be direct participants in the formal proceedings of this conference.

We are invited to attend the London conference as Albanians and as a party concerned to speak up our views and options in regard to the problem of Kosovo and the Albanians. Different meetings are arranged there with officials of the conference and international organizations, but we will not be direct participants in the proceedings of the conference. Contrary to the Hague Conference, when we had the chance to contact only the conference sub-commissions, now we are directly invited to take part in the conference of London and this is good, he said.

President Rugova said that surely this conference will have some plenary meetings and it is illogical to expect the solution to all the problems of ex-Yugoslavia. Concerning the issue of Kosovo, he said, we expect to have understanding.

Meanwhile, said Dr. Rugova, contrary to the Berlin Congress, there is a new situation and spirit, despite all these evils that have affected this part of Europe. Even political philosophy has changed today, there are being observed the desires of all peoples for self-determination and modern modalities are to be found to fulfill this fundamental right of every people.

Concerning the question whether the Albanian party will enter into dialogue with Serbia, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova answered that concerning our options, we think that it would be better for Kosovo to be independent, neutral, and open to Serbia and Albania.

Serbian Army Moves Toward Macedonian Border

AU2108110892 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian
7 Aug 92 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Soldiers on Both Sides of the Border"]

[Text] Since 27 July of this year, at the village of Stanciq in the commune of Gnjilane, an Army unit of the Gnjilane garrison has been stationed on the Kosovo-Macedonian border. The unit from Gnjilane reached this mountainous border area passing through Zheger in three trucks, a tank, and a military car with two officers in it. One truck was loaded with beds and wooden benches, while the other two carried soldiers. Since the military garrison of Gnjilane placed this border area under surveillance, movements of the Serbian Army have become a daily occurrence. Another part of the border in the commune of Gnjilane, between Vitina and Preseva, is being guarded by around 30 soldiers, who live

in tents near the village school of Stanciq in a field whose owner left for Kumanovo years ago.

The presence of the soldiers has made the situation tense in this part of Karadak. The local people's mobility has been restricted. According to them, Macedonian soldiers have been stationed to control the other side of the border in Kumanovo commune. The soldiers on both sides of the border are concentrated mainly on high hills. So far there has been no incident between the soldiers and the people of this area, who have been warned to be careful about their movements.

However, the soldiers who were placed in Pograxha area a few days ago have now moved to the area of Preseva commune, along with military equipment, the Commission for information in Gnjilane states.

Macedonia

Ethnic Albanians Send Letter To Carrington

AU2408120692 Tirana ATA in English 0941 GMT
24 Aug 92

[Text] Tirana, August 24 (ATA)—The ATA collaborator in Pristina informs: the Assembly for Political-Territorial Autonomy of the Albanians in Macedonia sent a letter to Lord Carrington and Douglas Hurd, asking that the Albanians of Macedonia too, living in compact ethnic territories and who make up over 40 per cent of the total number of population in Macedonia be invited in the London conference. The letter stresses among others that the efforts of the Albanians for full equality in Macedonia with the Macedonians are not being a success. The Macedonian party does not accept direct dialogue for the realisation of the demands of the Albanians, who are treated as second hand citizens.

The Party for Democratic Action, which consists of Albanians of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, from a whole region in southern Serbia, have also addressed a letter to the London conference. It says among others: "On the basis of the results of the referendum of the Albanians of this region, where they make up the absolute majority of the population and on the basis of the fact that Ibrahim Rugova is chairman of the coordinating council of Albanian political parties in the territories of former-Yugoslavia, we inform you that Rugova enjoys full legitimacy to represent also the interests of the Albanians in Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, in the London conference".

Autonomy is a fundamental condition to preserve national identity, the Democratic Forum of the Albanians in Montenegro stressed in a meeting in Ulcinj. The meeting emphasized that the referendum should be held as soon as possible and the Albanians of Montenegro should declare themselves on their status and solution of their question.